The New REPUBLIC

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The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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THERE is a catchy reasonableness about the German-American argument that our neutrality is unreal unless we forbid the export of arms. Germany having lost command of the sea, American traffic in war supplies helps the Allies. If the position were reversed, our neutrality would still be impugned, but not by the German-Americans, and we should be written down as the partner of "Teutonic" militarism. Partisans aside, there is, we believe, a growing body of pacifist opinion, represented by men of the ability and character of Dr. Edward Devine, which insists that American manufacturers are "capitalizing carnage," making profits out of murder, and that in decency and in humanity this nation ought to have nothing to do with the European crime. But what would be the consequences of so pure a stand? It would "stop the war," we are told, but where? With Germany in possession of Belgium and the richest part of France. And the lesson to England and France? It would be that militarism pays, that God is on the side of the big ready battalions, that a nation which dreams, plans, and organizes war can impose bargo would be regarded by the Allies as the most desperate treachery, as an arbitrary reversal of all international law, not in time of peace but in the midst of a terrible crisis. We should by the embargo which Mr. Bartholdt and others propose neutralize at one stroke a large part of British naval superiority; we should be doing as much for Germany as if we established a fairly good blockade in the Atlantic. And if ever we ourselves faced a life-and-death struggle, we should have established a precedent which might prove fatal. The proposal is a piece of thoughtless morality, a bit of good intention with unconsidered consequences. As a method of warring against war it belongs with incantations, spells, and the sacrificing of goats.

WHEN a man like Judge Gary, who is reasonably busy at his own job, devotes his leisure to finding jobs for the unemployed, we cannot withhold from him our acknowledgment of the great public service he is rendering. Let Mr. Gary apply as much skill to these social problems as he has given to building up the United States Steel Corporation, and he will prove a valuable collaborator with the earnest men and women who have long studied this question. But it must not be forgotten that Judge Gary, however excellent his intentions, suffers from the defect that in these matters he belongs to the least enlightened class in the whole community. On the business side, on the side of product and profits, there is no more capable man in the United States; on the social side there is none who more needs enlightenment. Judge Gary believes that "it is admirable and satisfying to save human beings from starvation, or even from the minor discomforts of want," but he also holds that "by diligence and economy, assisted by a general impulse upon the part of those who have work to be done to give it out intelligently, every man whose health is good may become independent." But is Mr. Gary ignorant of industrial accident, industrial disease, low wages, a seven-day week,

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trial disabilities? On socialism Mr. Gary's thinking is even more rudimentary. For half a century political economists and writers of all schools have explained in words of one syllable the fundamental principles of this movement, so that to-day the grocer's clerk, who is even less of a socialist than is Mr. Gary, has some inkling of its significance, and knows at least that it is not a proposal "to divide up." Yet listen to Mr. Gary's summary. "No man of means," he says, "would be willing to divide his property with any man who happens to have nothing. That would be socialism."

THE most discouraging part of Judge Gary's long interview on unemployment, which, it should be added, does contain a number of excellent practical suggestions, is the inconspicuous paragraph dealing with trade unions. Mr. Gary dilates upon the mutual confidence which he believes is growing up between employers and workmen, and praises "the employers of the United States" who "are spending millions annually in efforts to improve the conditions of their employees." But all of this is quite consciously utilized as an argument against trade unions. "One of the results of this better feeling," says Judge Gary, "is the steadily decreasing necessity for the maintenance by either side of organizations designed to protect it from unfair treatment on the part of the other." We wonder if even so acute a mind as Judge Gary understands all the implications of such a sentence. What it means is that a workman who honestly and justly believes that he should have higher wages or a shorter work-day or anything else which means a fuller life for him, should appeal not to his fellow workmen, who have the same ideals and the same desires, but to his employer, a man who lives on quite a different scale and who is the very person who must pay out of his own pocket for the better conditions which the workers demand. Does Mr. Gary believe that the wage-earners of this country can trust their whole claim in life to men who may have a financial interest in denying that claim? And if, by sheer power of capital, wage-earners are compelled so to accept terms dictated by employers, benevolent or otherwise, does Mr. Gary believe that such a situation will long be tolerated by an enlightened community?

A SIGNIFICANTLY apologetic attitude determined the program of the meeting of the National Popular Government League in Washington. Its president, Senator Owen, discoursed not upon the successes and conquests of direct government, but on the nation-wide attack on its measures. "Is the direct primary a failure?" he asked. "Is the direct primary?" to which the answer might be given by some sceptic that the great difficulty with the direct primary is the direct primary. Another session was occupied by the far more serious question of how the progressives of all parties can "get together" for the control of the government. The discussion was, of course, carried on by progressive statesmen who had always conspicuously failed to "get together" for the control of the government or for any other supposed political benefit. Indeed, how can you expect progressives to "get together" for such an empty purpose as the control of the government? If they did do so, they would be merely following in the footsteps of the old parties. Republicans and Democrats organize for the control of the government rather than the promotion of a policy, but sincere progressives must always be more vitally interested in the accomplishment of political and social purposes than in the sanctity of partisan bonds. If they are to "get together," their fruitful association must be born of a common impulse, a common program and a common zeal for its realization. What progressives need is to take thought. They will never control the government until they know better how they want to use the control.

ON January first and second of the new year some two hundred teachers of national prominence assembled in New York and organized the "Association of University Professors." Perhaps the most significant act of the new association was to exclude the presidents of colleges and universities from membership in the association. Inasmuch as college presidents are usually promoted professors and figure to the innocent laity as specially distinguished scholars and leaders of thought, the decision of the association to exclude them seems to need some explanation. The reason for this exclusion derives from the very purpose of the new association. To the majority of professors the president figures primarily as the business head of the university—as an educational administrator. Admitting freely the generally cordial relation existing between presidents and faculties, the association decided that the collective purposes and judgments of college and university professors could not obtain free and positive expression unless presidents were excluded. Deans and other officers of administration who do not give a considerable amount of instruction were also generally held to be *personae non gratae*. Thus the work of the association will be to express the interests and ideals of the fraternity of teaching-scholars. In the course of time it will doubtless formulate a code of professional ethics, which

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and limits of academic freedom. If the new association performs its work properly, it should help to give increasing dignity and independence to the position of college and university professor. Several of the speakers seemed to be morbidly afraid that the association might be popularly misconceived as a labor union. Almost they did protest too much. A union of professors must differ essentially from a union of wage-earners, but the new association is seeking none the less an object analogous to that of an ordinary union. It is seeking increasing independence for its members by means of organization and community of spirit.

EX-SENATOR Bourne of Oregon calls himself a progressive; but like many other progressives, he makes at times the most utterly reactionary proposals. At present he is much exercised by the amount of time and attention which the President and the Senators waste upon the distribution of patronage; and he proposes to relieve them of the burden by imposing on the local electorate the work of choosing their postmasters, collectors of customs, United States attorneys, marshals, land-officers and the like. The proposal has always been popular with "old-fashioned" Jacksonian Democrats. They would have liked eighty years ago to disintegrate the national administration, just as they disintegrated the state administrations, but the Constitution was inflexible and they were obliged to devise the spoils system in order to accomplish a similar result by easier extra-official means. Mr. Bourne pretends to be doing away with the spoils system, but in truth he is seeking to achieve more effectually the object for which the spoils was devised—the object of subordinating Federal officials to local political dictation rather than to that of their official superiors. There is one simple and far less reactionary way of relieving the President and the Senate from the onerous burden of appointing and confirming the higher Federal office-holders. They can be made part of the permanent civil service.

IT seems a foregone conclusion that the immigration bill based on the literacy test will soon become law. Even if President Wilson vetoes the measure, a two-thirds vote in House and Senate will doubtless be forthcoming. There is not much enthusiasm for the exclusion of illiterates, since men without education have not proved the least valuable of our immigrants, but Congress and Americans generally desire to lessen the total volume of the inflow, and the literacy test seems on the whole the least undesirable. It is a vast experiment, which will be watched with acute interest. The idea, and Judge Nirdlinger first put it into prove eventually to be only the first step in a progressively restrictive policy. Whether we further restrict or not, however, we should not rest content with a purely negative policy, but should work out the larger program of internal immigration, intended to protect and guide the immigrant during his difficult first years in a new country.

ONE feature of the Immigration bill, as amended in the Senate, seems to us peculiarly vicious. It is the provision excluding from American shores all future immigrants of African blood. The urgent necessity for such a proposal is not obvious. In 1910 there were only forty thousand foreign born negroes in the United States, of whom less than five hundred had come from Africa. The amendment applies particularly to the few thousand Jamaican negroes who annually arrive in America, and soon find themselves employed as elevator boys in New York apartment houses. These men are for the most part law-abiding, industrious and with a natural courtesy, which is surely not an undesirable importation, and they are the same men upon whom we relied to do the pick and shovel work for the Panama Canal. It would be singularly ungracious to signalize the completion of this great work by gratuitously insulting the men who accomplished it. But there is a wider significance to this proposal. It is a new insult flung at ten million Americans, who because of their color are for the most part voteless and deprived of fundamental civil and political rights.

MR. WHITMAN'S first words as Governor implied that state economy means less expenditure. Fortunately at the end of his message he proposes the only method by which "economy" can be made intelligent, and some distinction drawn between good spending and bad spending. The Governor ranges himself beside those who advocate the budget system with executive responsibility for financial policy. If that system is established, future governors in their inaugural addresses will be able to use "figures" as "warnings" without violating common sense.

THREE million dollars a year, it is estimated, are lost to the poor in this country because of the expense and time of ordinary legal action. No one can afford to sue for a small amount, and the poor cannot afford any of the delays incident to litigation. To meet this situation Kansas has put in operation a small Debtors' Court, having jurisdiction for amounts up to twenty dollars. John S. Dawson, attorney-general of the state, conceived

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torneys, no fees and no costs. Only the plaintiff, the defendant and material witnesses can appear before it. Summonses are issued personally, by mail or by telephone. The judge, who is not paid, is appointed by the mayor and council for cities, and by the county court for counties. The court and the defendant determine how and when payments are to be made. The defendant is protected from further legal action as long as he keeps faith. Only the defendant may appeal, and an appeal must be accompanied by a bond to secure costs, double the amount of the judgment and fifteen dollars to pay the plaintiff's lawyer. This attempt is a towering improvement over the courts of justice-of-the-peace, which are often surrounded by a cordon of constables, ambulance-chasers and hangers-on, who plunder under the sanction of petty-minded officialdom. When a washerwoman can with little trouble recover a bill of five dollars from a lawyer, or a waitress be protected against exorbitant fines for accidental dish-breaking, justice has indeed become something tangible for the classes who usually get acquainted with the law only as an instrument in the hands of the powerful. There is little chance of oppression by an unjust judge, for people can revolt much more easily against an individual than against a clumsy and often perverted machinery of "checks and balances." The average man likes a little humanity in his law. The Anglo-Saxon judicial passion for "a government of laws rather than of men" would profit by the infusion of more such Biblical simplicity.

IN 1909 the present German Ambassador appeared before the American Academy of Political and Social Science and delivered a weighty speech on German development. His speech was later honorably entombed in the Academy's distinguished annals. But some ferrety critic whom the war started raking over old bones brings unpleasant tidings from the grave. Whoever wrote the Ambassador's speech, the New York *Nation* finds that the real stuff in it was appropriated, without a syllable of acknowledgment, from W. H. Dawson's admirable work on "The Evolution of Modern Germany"; and there were garnitures from Dr. Rohrbach and Professor Paulsen. Mr. Dawson, distressed over this "wrongful and indefensible" use of his book, makes quite justified reflections on the Ambassador's "literary integrity." A lack of integrity, according to literary standards, this behavior undoubtedly reveals. In fairness to the Ambassador, however, it may be surmised that just as he palmed off this speech on the Academy, so some bright young man in the Embassy may have palmed it off on him. The irony, of course, is that the bright young man, if he is still around

Colorado and the Nation.

THE Federal troops are about to be withdrawn from Colorado, and in the eye of American public opinion the hideous incident of the Colorado labor war of 1914 will soon be closed. The impression is false. The incident is not closed. No incident can be considered closed which leaves in its train so many serious grievances and such an ominous burden of class provocation. THE NEW REPUBLIC objects to the withdrawal of the Federal troops precisely because it will bestow an appearance of healing upon what is in reality an obnoxious industrial and political sore. Their retention in Colorado would be a poor substitute for some sufficiently radical attempt to appease the grievance; but it would at least have continued to call attention to one of the most sinister and neglected aspects of the whole affair. It would have continued to advertise the practical collapse of the Colorado state government.

Nobody seems to realize that the government of Colorado did collapse; but a candid commentator on the facts cannot escape the conclusion. By calling it a collapse we do not mean merely that the industrial policy of the legislature of Colorado was inadequate and unenlightened. We mean that the government of the state proved unequal to its primary irreducible responsibility of enforcing its laws, of protecting its citizens against systematic violence, and of using the armed forces of the state impartially in the interest of public order and security. The failure of the government of Colorado is not the failure to live up to a high standard such as ought to prevail in a living democracy. It is failure in much the same way that the government of Venezuela has been a failure.

Government in Colorado has failed in something the same way as the government of Venezuela, but not for the same cause. In Colorado there has finally been laid bare the hypocrisy and the menace of one of the oldest and most cherished political practices of the American local democracies—the practice of seeking to escape the penalties of their own legal resolutions by making no sufficient provision for their effective realization. After a law was passed, its administration was usually delegated to groups of officials, who frequently were responsible, not to the electorate of the whole state, but to local communities, and these local communities had no difficulty in emasculating the law by weak, indifferent or frankly hostile execution.

Hypocrisy of this kind did not incur serious practical penalties as long as the county and other local political jurisdictions were not interested in emasculating the more fundamental political objects whose promotion had been confided to the state gov-

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these fundamental rules of law were as defective as that made for the latest statute regulating the hours of labor. The effective responsibility for keeping the peace was bestowed upon minor state or county officials who could be persuaded or browbeaten by organized and powerful anti-social forces of all kinds. The consequence was that in Colorado the police power of the state was captured by one of the parties to a bitter industrial dispute, and it was used ruthlessly not merely to suppress violence, but to terrorize the strikers into submission.

Ex-Governor Ammon has been criticized because of the use made by the operators of the state militia organization; but, as he testified before the Industrial Commission, he did not have the authority to use it effectively, even if he did have the will. The officials upon whom he had to depend for the enforcement of the laws were independent of him. Colorado, like so many other American states, had considered government by men so dangerous to government by law that it had disintegrated the executive power of the state and left it powerless in the face of grave social disorder. Thus the state government, notwithstanding the fine phrases in its constitution, was made the tool of one party in an economic quarrel. Its moral authority and prestige were exploded with the discharge of the rifles of the gunmen.

It took Federal troops to restore order. A small body of them proved sufficient for the job, and the celerity with which they accomplished it indicates clearly that a strong, impartial and responsible state government might have kept the peace without serious difficulty. That Colorado failed lamentably to do so is a sinister fact. Neither side trusted either in the state's ability or its good faith. Yet there was no sufficient excuse for the absence of either ability or good faith. The disorder prevailed in only a small part of its territory, and concerned only a minor fraction of its population. Its large cities and its considerable agricultural districts were not directly involved. No general insurrection had taken place, such as the framers of the Constitution had in mind when they provided for a possible appeal by the state for Federal military assistance.

Neither does the behavior of the rest of the state during and after the insurrection afford much indication of a power of recuperation. The legislature assembled and adjourned without proving any more equal to the emergency than had been the executive. The recent election resulted in the triumph of "law and order" candidates; but the "law and order" which they are pledged to serve will do nothing to heal wounds, to build up social tissue and to restore the public credit and political integrity inspire any more confidence than the old. Both the operators and the miners profess to regard the withdrawal of the Federal troops with apprehension. Colorado herself has done nothing to assure the rest of the country that if the troops are withdrawn another unruly emergency will not necessitate their return.

States which have to call upon Federal troops to restore order on the occasion of an ordinary industrial dispute should understand the plain meaning and the inevitable result of their political ineptitude. The power which is actually responsible for the maintenance of public order must in the long run concern itself with the causes of disorder. A state which depends upon the nation to keep the peace within her borders is no longer a really self-governing community. She must expect increasing interference on the part of the nation in what has hitherto been regarded as exclusively a matter of domestic policy. In so far as Federal troops are necessary to restore order in the case of industrial disputes, the adjustment of the relations between strikers and their employers is by way of becoming a national business.

An Unseen Reversal

THE President is expected to appoint the five Trade Commissioners almost any day. He will then have embodied one of the strongest agencies ever created by the Federal Government. For those Commissioners will have it in their power to reverse the traditional American attitude toward big business.

The Sherman act and the decisions under it have reflected loyally the prevailing temper of American political feeling. The spectre of tyranny has always hag-ridden our dreams, and the act was passed to exercise the nightmare of monopolistic control. Unlimited economic power rather than concrete economic evils, was the inspiration of the act and of the spirit of its interpretation. The Supreme Court in consequence has many times said that it was the mere power to monopolize supply or control prices that counted, not its exercise; and that the Court would not look at the practical results of the combination when once it was clear that its purpose was to create an effective control. There are perhaps signs of a different temper, but the classic tradition is still strong, and at best it is no better than an even chance that the court will reverse the Harvester case, which is an extreme test of the doctrine. Our American dread of absolutism has hitherto made the mere existence of monopoly appear to be an insidious cancer of the state; to tolerate its least symptom was treason.

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different approach, a spirit strangely contradictory to the campaign theories of the President. It will focus attention not on possibilities, but on performance, not on monopoly, but upon unfair trade methods. Such changes in point of view tell more in the end than anything else, for men easily forget when they do not constantly attend, and a system which always looks at specific instances of misconduct quickly becomes uninterested in abstract questions of economic power.

The first and most important feature of the Trade Commission act is its clear recognition that this is the proper mental attitude toward the trust question. It is not the attitude anyone could have expected to see emerge from the tradition of the Democratic party. But nevertheless it did. A Democratic Congress has actually delegated the broadest kind of personal discretion to a commission of "experts," a commission, mind you, which combines executive, legislative, and judicial functions. Could there be anything more portentous to those who believe in the adequacy of the Logos, as it comes to us from the Fathers; could there be a more impious attack upon the triune separation of powers? The act achieves a very happy but a most amazing delegation of legislative function.

It contains no guide for the limiting of the powers of the Commission and the courts but their general judgment of what is fair in the given case. "Do you think these practices serve the public interests or do you not? You must go over each case and look at the whole problem; there are no major premises for your guidance; yours is the responsibility for a right decision and yours the power; make your own rules for trade, but at your peril make them right." That is in substance the charter of these five Trade Commissioners, and the wonder is that so few have felt it to be a departure from American ideas. The Interstate Commerce Commission and the State Public Service Commissions must indeed have carried us far already. This is fast becoming a government not of laws, but of men, perhaps really a government, after all, no longer a pious treasury of past generalizations.

The procedural features of the scheme are important. At present a small trader with a grievance appeals to the Attorney-General, and if that officer chooses to embark in a dissolution suit, he files a bill and several years are spent in taking testimony. Finally the case comes to a hearing, generally before three of four judges, in from four to twenty large volumes of undigested and unarranged evidence, largely irrelevant. The court, already crowded with constantly growing business, as all Federal Courts are now being in law. There can be little question that England

the disputed facts. Then they must face the question of the pertinency under the law of what they can gather from the conflicting assertions of counsel. This new act, on the other hand, provides that the Commission must initiate proceedings, take the proof and find the facts. These findings are conclusive. Upon these facts, which it will be extremely important to have stated separately and clearly, the Commissioners will decide whether or not the defendant has engaged in unfair trade methods; if they decide that the methods are fair, the suit is nearly certain to end. The Attorney-General may begin a dissolution suit *de novo,* if he has the heart to undertake it, though he will not have, and the aggrieved individual may sue for treble damages if he can afford it, and he seldom can. Practically, the matter will stop with the Commissioners' decision. If the Commission finds on the other hand that there has been unfair trade, the defendant may appeal direct to the Appellate Court, which, taking the facts as found, has in turn its own hands free to determine what it regards as unfair trade, laying down the rule for that case and looking only to its sense of the public interest. Thus is preserved the necessary final judgment of a tribunal which has had nothing to do with the prosecution.

In this Trade Commission act is contained the possibility of a radical reversal of many American notions about trusts, legislative power, and legal procedure. It may amount to historic political and constitutional reform. It seems to contradict every principle of the party which enacted it. It seems to strike at the root of ancient American prejudice. But the opposition has been negligible, so negligible that it stirs a little wonder as to whether Congress and the press realized that the quiet phrasing and ingenuity of this bill were another Trojan horse.

The Shipping Note

OUR note to Great Britain in regard to shipping is a frank and self-respecting performance. A reading of the full text, moreover, must dispel the first impression conveyed by the summary somewhat prematurely given to the newspapers. It seemed at first that this government had acted with curt exasperation and a peremptory desire to have the letter of the law. No sense of this is to be found in the note itself. As state documents go, it is peculiarly lucid, open, and plausible, and no fairminded Englishman should find in it anything to jar his good feeling toward this country.

In substance it is more than justified in fact and

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rules, to amend international law, and to behave as the inconsiderate autocrat of the high seas. She has steadily encroached upon the rights of neutrals, she who is supposed to be fighting for the sanctity of neutrals. She has stretched the rules of contraband beyond all precedent, has subjected neutral commerce to her own caprice and made it suffer the penalties of her own cumbersome administration. All this Great Britain has justified, as the German Chancellor justified the invasion of Belgium, by proclaiming it a necessity.

If the United States submitted without protest, Germany might well smile at our proclamation of neutrality. In sheer self-respect this country could not afford to allow supreme naval power to destroy its neutral rights. But there is a larger reason than that. It is that the extension of neutral rights as against the "necessities" of nations at war is perhaps the one most immediate and practical step towards a better world organization. In time of war neutral powers alone have a direct interest in the preservation of international law. That interest is based on their desire to trade, to use their neutrality to protect themselves from the ravages of the conflict. Such protection is the common interest of neutrals, and if ever there is to be a league of neutrals its first and most unsentimental basis will be the intention to safeguard commerce.

For English newspapers to complain is for them to assume that we are England's official ally, which we are not. Some British comment, moreover, seems to imply that while it is a crime to use German militarism to destroy neutral rights, there is something to be said for British naval power when it follows the German example. If that were so, England would present the curious spectacle of a people fighting and dying for public law on land while it violated public law at sea.

The affair demonstrates that self-interest is still the real law of nations, that the brilliantly colored moral sentiments of international discourse will not often wash. The first positive action of this country in a world war has been to insure its export trade against stoppage and inconvenience; nothing more glorious than that. The note has chanced to reveal the unrhetorical United States, as British action at sea has revealed England minus her morals. After all the preaching of brotherhood, after all the beating of rusty swords into useless ploughshares, after all Europe's hope and our own vanity, our only utterance on the war is to protect our shipping.

It might have been otherwise. Had we protested when Belgium was violated we should have shown that we care disinterestedly about neutral rights, and our protest now would come with doubled force and heightened grace. Our championa measure of obvious and justified self-interest into a service to the world.

The Minute-Men Myth

IT is highly ironical that the most bellicose utterances of the armament controversy should have come not from our militarists, but from the lips of our two most ardent advocates of peace. Secretary Bryan's words are already famous:

> "The President knows that if this country needed a million men, and needed them in a day, the call would go out at sunrise and the sun would go down on a million men in arms."

An interview in the New York *Times* quotes Mr. Carnegie as follows:

> "Our nation is unique in an important respect. Its individuals are the best armed in the world. . . . Most Americans can afford to and do own guns with which to shoot, and furthermore, most Americans, when they shoot, can hit the thing at which they shoot."

In other words, if these two statements are true, we do not have to go in for armament because we are a nation armed to the teeth, ready to spring forth at a moment's notice; we have a natural genius for shooting, and we can "lick anything on the face of the earth." And this from the lips of men who cry for peace because they love it so.

Both statements are of course untrue. Our preparations are utterly inadequate to put even fifty thousand fresh men into the field over night, let alone a million. Even super-militant Germany, after years of preparation, required a fortnight for mobilization. Short of the enemy being at our throat, it would be criminal folly to send our citizen volunteers to the firing line before at least three months' training. Lord Kitchener is at present engaged in breaking all records for training troops, and yet he is asking six months to put his million men into battle shape.

Mr. Carnegie's statement leaves us hardly less astonished. It is news to us that most Americans carry guns. We should have said off-hand that fully three-fourths of our population have no experience whatsoever with high-power rifles. It is true that a good many farmers still keep a shot-gun about the house to knock down a rabbit or put a few buckshots into an occasional deer. But we did not know that they were experts at a thousand yards with a Krag-Jorgensen. If we are to believe Mr. Carnegie, every golf links in the country is really a concealed rifle range. What have we all been shooting at, that we can hit the stem of a wine glass from the hip like any circus sharpshooter? In our innocent, peace-loving way we had gradually forbidden the carrying of revolvers.

Nothing is accomplished in merely exposi- g th

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how they could have been made and why they have been so largely accepted. It is a noteworthy fact, as yet hardly appreciated, that political thinking, and in fact all mass-thinking, is peculiarly subject to the influence of sheer mythology. An obvious myth or a flattering tradition gradually gains credence and becomes established in the popular imagination. Its tendency is to usurp the place of fact and to block the path of candid observation. It can do this because it is invested with more emotional warmth than the facts, because it pushes in the direction of our preferences and our national vanity, and because, very often, as in the case of patriotic myths, we have absorbed it from our earliest childhood. It is also the tendency of such political myth-thinking to increase the proportion of myth, so that in time the originally slight exaggeration overshadows the whole. Such myths are a godsend to the politician. He knows that any reference to a favorite myth will always bring an immediate response. If his followers begin to grow restless under the onslaught of facts and investigations, he need merely touch those old favorite chords. Usually the politician, if in the worst sense of the word he is a good politician, himself implicitly believes the myth.

In both Mr. Bryan's and Mr. Carnegie's statements the mythical foundation is transparent. It is the myth of the Revolutionary minute-men. We have all been taught in our school histories that the minute-men of Lexington and Concord performed prodigies of valor. We have been taught to revere their statues and to recall them as we ascended the Bunker Hill Monument. We have come to love the thought of the embattled farmer rising up over night to throw off the hated yoke of British tyranny. We played our boyish war games in that belief, just as we still build upon it our lackadaisical militia. Emotionally we are convinced that all an American citizen need do is to take down his gun and shoot the presumptuous invader of our shores.

Let us examine the historical truth that underlies this myth. What, as a matter of fact, were the minute-men of the Revolution? They were citizens-at-large whom the Provincial congresses and the Committees of Safety of 1774 instructed to keep their powder-horns filled and hold themselves in readiness to shoot Britishers. They had had no military drill, and no practice except in shooting Indians and small game. They went down to defeat after defeat, they were chronically under-supplied with ammunition, they were hardly more than an armed rabble, until men like Lafayette and De Kalb took them in hand and until untold and unnecessary hardships turned them into seasoned troops. They came well within the modern definition of invasion would give short shrift to such roadside amateurs. All that has been forgotten.

Will the myth of the minute-men ever be shaken? It probably did not become firmly intrenched in the American imagination until the war of 1812. At that time many veterans of the Revolutionary War were still alive who must have had the personal confidence that they could take on any dozen Britishers single-handed. How disastrous the myth was then has never been appreciated by us. It has conquered most of our historians. It is almost impossible to pick up any school history and get a realistic sense of the defeats we sustained, of the ignominious burning of Washington, of our utter demoralization. We think only of a series of brilliant naval victories, and of Jackson's comfortable victory at New Orleans over half-hearted British troops, just as we assume that it was we who won the battle of Bunker Hill. And who now remembers the bloody rabble of Bull Run or the more recent shame of Tampa? That is the nether side of the myth. It has become an arch concealer of facts, has inured us to what is really a monstrous callousness. It allows our planless and bewildered pacificists to pass off a purely emotional aversion to warfare as an established peace, and thoughtlessly exposes the next generation to all the vicissitudes of unpreparedness for war in order that the present generation may enjoy a simulacrum. Permanent peace is not necessarily a myth, but it can never be established on a myth, and a bellicose myth at that.

The Socialist Vote

WHOEVER reads Mr. Ghent's skillful reply, printed elsewhere in this number, to our editorial article of December twelfth, will see that while he refers to our "clumsy concoction" and our "inaccurate and misleading statements," he does not in a single instance deny any of those statements, but merely supplants our interpretation by his own. He does not deny that the Socialist party is weak in the great industrial states and much stronger in states like Kansas, Minnesota and Texas. He does not deny that the relative vote of Florida is over three times that of industrial Massachusetts, while that of Oklahoma is more than six times as great. Nor does he deny that "year by year an ever smaller proportion of the Socialist vote was to be found in the great industrial commonwealths, and in several states an increased vote has been followed by an absolute decline." What he claims is merely this: that the vote in the industrial states, though admittedly a smaller proportion of the Socialist vote than ever before, is still increasing faster than the total vote of those states, and that in many of the

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Socialist vote is to be found in large part either in the cities or in mining camps. All of which is quite true, but does not affect our contention that the Socialist vote is weaker in states mainly industrial and where propaganda has been longest continued, and is stronger in states mainly agricultural, as in Oklahoma, or mainly agricultural and mining, as in the states of the far West. Why, after forty years of propaganda, is the Socialist vote only 4% of the vote of New York State and only 2.6%, or one in 39, of the vote of Massachusetts?

Mr. Ghent suggests that "the fact seems to be overlooked by the writer that this nation is developing to the West, Southwest and Northwest, and that the total vote of the Eastern states is relatively declining." We have not overlooked this fact. It does not, however, explain the development which has been pointed out. From 1904 to 1912, the total vote of the eight chief industrial states—New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan and Connecticut—decreased only from 48.3% to 44.2% of the total vote of the nation, while the Socialist vote of those states decreased from 49.93% to 42.07% of the Socialist vote of the nation. Moreover, there is no reason why a smaller proportion of all the voters in these industrial states should vote the Socialist ticket than in the seven far Western states—Oklahoma, Nevada, Montana, Arizona, Washington, California and Idaho. Yet in the eight industrial states only 5.7% of the voters were Socialist, while in the seven Western states 15.23%, or considerably over two and a half times as many, voted for Mr. Debs. In other words, where the industrial conditions seem ripest and the propaganda has been carried on for the longest time, there the Socialist vote is not only smaller, but is increasing on the whole more slowly than in many of the newer states, either agricultural or agricultural and mining in character, where propaganda is comparatively new.

Had we employed the incomplete 1914 figures instead of those for 1912, our contention would have been even better established. The year 1914 was in many respects abnormal, and the general falling off of the Socialist vote in that election might be attributed to many merely accidental and temporary causes. But what stands out in a comparison of the Socialist vote of 1914 with that of 1910 is that the same processes continue at work. While in these four years the Oklahoma Socialist vote increased 113%, the Socialist vote of New York State increased only 13%; that of Massachusetts actually decreased 34%, and that of Connecticut decreased 52%. The population of Massachusetts is about twice that [illegible]

cialist voters in Oklahoma as in Massachusetts. Minnesota in 1914 had more Socialist voters than all New England. What has become of the Socialist party in the urban, industrial, older states of the East? Why do fewer Massachusetts men vote the Socialist ticket in 1914 than in 1900, despite the increase in population during the period?

These questions are asked in no spirit of hostility, but in one of sympathetic interest in a great and important development which manifests itself not only within the Socialist party, but also in the alignment of many social groups throughout the country. If the Socialist party fails, after decades of strenuous propaganda, to secure the adherence of the propertyless wage-earners in our great industrial states, and if simultaneously it makes rapid progress among farmers and farm-tenants in Oklahoma, how can we avoid the conclusion, which is moreover supported by many other facts, that a change is taking place in the entire spirit of the propaganda and even in the classes to which it is being addressed? If Mr. Ghent, who is the ablest statistician and one of the clearest minds of the party, can interpret this development, our columns lie open to him. But he does not answer the questions raised when he asks us whether we would call the Christian church "an organization of hypocrites, merely because a number of vociferous and fretful free-thinkers had so termed that body." If the Christian church were to lose its present adherents in Europe and America, but make corresponding gains among Basutos and Fiji Islanders, if it were to compromise upon the subject of Totemism and by a referendum of all its members "hedge" upon the question of a personal God, might we not quite properly suggest that it was changing in character, and even adopt, without "studied unfairness," the title "Christian Degeneration?"

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EDITORS

HERBERT CROLY WALTER LIPPMANN
PHILIP LITTELL FRANCIS HACKETT
WALTER E. WEYL CHARLOTTE RUDYARD

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The Slavic Hope

A NATION at war always presents material for the study of abnormal psychology. War is a time of heightened emotions, of extravagant hopes, of unreasoning fears. The past is blotted out by the act which abolishes peace, and the ordinary laws of causation seem in the novel conditions to be suspended. It is not enough for a people which leads an active intellectual life to argue that war is necessary, or inevitable, or just. We must needs persuade ourselves that an adventure which will certainly have painful consequences in the present will justify itself in the end by loading us with future benefits. Our forefathers would have been content to reckon up the glory and the loot. In Western Europe men talk about the perennial peace that is certain to result from crushing Germany, and arm themselves with "olives of endless age." The laurel was a less elusive leaf.

We are all rummaging in the cornucopia of victory for the thing we desire. If the West aspires to peace, the East looks for liberty; when once a nation has made up its mind to look for grapes on thorns, the one expectation is as reasonable as the other. It is not easy to discover on what grounds the Russian intellectuals, with the exception only of the hard-shell social democrats, persuaded themselves that a victorious war was the natural way to end the oppressions of Tsardom. There is no disputing their sincerity, though recent history and the common experience of mankind were both against them. The defeat of Russia in the Far East came very near to upsetting the autocrat. It weakened its prestige, broke its self-confidence, exposed its incapacity, and the result was the October Constitution of 1905. A popular and successful war would naturally have the opposite result, and ricketty despotisms, when they go to war, are frequently suspected of the design of consolidating by external successes their position at home.

There was, however, something to be said on the other side, and it was easy to say it prettily. Perhaps the autocracy would yield to loyalty what it had never given to rebellion. Perhaps in the comradeship of the battlefield the suspicions would vanish which have held the non-Russian races of the empire in subjection. If fear had been the main reason for the Russian oppression of Poles, Finns, Jews, and "intellectuals," this reasoning would have been sound. Unfortunately fear is only one of the explanations of Russian despotism. More potent stands for certain ideals in religion and social structure which are opposed to Western liberalism. These ideals the "truly Russian" party has always aimed at enforcing upon the non-orthodox and Westernized elements of her population. A war in which the non-Russian races fought gallantly side by side with the Russians might allay the fears which engender persecution. But a war for Slavonic unity is also calculated to reinforce this peculiar racial idealism. Panslavism has its intensive as well as its extensive aspect. If it aims at uniting all the Slav races under Russian rule or leadership, it works no less consciously to heighten and emphasize what it considers to be the specialties of Slavonic civilization. Its creed was stated with fanatical assurance by the late M. Pobiedonostseff, and it has grown no milder since his death. It holds that the West is effete, and traces its decay to the liberal and critical spirit.

If the democracies of France and Britain are combating Prussian militarism, the truly Russian orthodox Panslavist is fighting the German enlightenment. What he hates in Germany is not its militarism but its rationalism, its religion tolerance, its socialism, and what he would call its materialism. A victory over Germany would be for this school a triumph for the orthodox view of life, and all that it inculcates in the way of passivity and conformity, faith and obedience. A rehabilitation of this habit of thought would be a more probable result of a Russian victory over Germany than a revival of Russian liberalism. That is what happened after 1812, and it may happen again after 1914. The defeat of Napoleon was for Holy Russia the defeat of the impious Western ideals. In the mass-mind of Russia the Germans stand for those ideals to-day as the French stood for them a century ago.

If we turn from these shadowy speculations to what is actually happening in Russia, the distinction which we have drawn seems to be confirmed. Where fear had its influence, there are signs of progress; where fear plays no part, it is the Panslavist reaction which dominates. The new hope for Russia, in so far as it has captivated Western liberals, was based on the promise to Poland. That promise was extremely vague. It did use the word "autonomy," but it supplied no definition. It might mean genuine self-government for Poland with a representative constitution. It might mean, on the other hand, nothing more than the installa-

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tive assembly. It might mean nothing more than the creation of Polish Zemstvos (county councils). The promise was made by the commander-in-chief, and to this day the Czar himself has neither endorsed it nor explained it. Its motive was obvious. It was issued at a moment when the Austro-German armies were overrunning Poland. It followed a similar German proclamation. It was a bid for Polish support in the hour of need, and it meant primarily that a Polish insurrection fostered by the Germans would have been an awkward military incident at that particular phase of the campaign. It was, in short, a concession influenced by fear, and like all such concessions it may live no longer than the fear which prompted it. On the other hand, the discovery that the Poles do really prefer the continuance of Russian rule to liberation under German auspices may do something to soften the tradition of repression.

The corrective to any rash optimism based on the promise to Poland is to be found in Finland. The Finns are beyond the reach of the German invader; they are unarmed and unwarlike, and the autocracy does not fear them. Here then, the real spirit of the heightened Panslavism of war-time has had free course. It has swept away in a single document the little that was left of Finnish autonomy. There is some debate about the exact legal significance of this document. Is it an ukase, or is it only a programme? The vital fact is that it bears the signature of the Czar, and though it may yet have to come before the Russian Duma, previous experience has shown that Conservative Dumas care little for Finnish rights, and that in case of need the Duma may be overridden.

About the scope of this programme there is no debate. It is a complete programme of Russification. It assimilates Finnish legislation to Russian in vital matters of personal rights, the liberty of the press, and the freedom of assembly. It makes the Finnish Senate (Cabinet) an organ of the Russian bureaucracy. It takes over the national services of railways and the like. Worst of all, it threatens the Finnish languages and civilisation in the universities and the higher schools. It is, in short, difficult to imagine what will be left of one of the most enlightened and progressive communities in Europe when this programme is carried into effect. Nothing, indeed, stands intact to-day, but there are vestiges, memories, traditions of freedom, and as yet the intangible essence of nationality—its culture, its language, its liberty of thought—has survived with a good deal of the humbler machinery of the parish-pump. The new programme sweeps everything away, from the pump to the university.

The attack on Finland does not stand alone. Very significant was the refusal of the bureaucracy of the war. The Russian mind runs readily to charity and forgiveness, and this most tolerant and sympathetic race responds with a certain emotional facility to any wave of fraternity. When the police arrested M. Bourtseff, after his public appeal for a rally of all revolutionists to the fatherland in danger, it was not guilty of a mere mechanical *gaucherie*. It meant to say openly that it had not disarmed. M. Bourtseff left his safe retreat in Paris to find the New Russia. His voyage of discovery has ended in prison. The same moral follows from the arrest of five social democratic deputies of the Duma on a charge of high treason. Even the immunity of deputies from arrest, save by the consent of the Duma itself, has been swept aside by the Panslavist reaction. The Czar has won golden opinions in some not very critical quarters by announcing that he intends to continue the prohibition of the sale of alcohol permanently after the war. Prohibition may be a salutary reform in the Russian village, but anything that is gained in sobriety has been lost in liberty by this return to the habit of autocratic legislation. We are back in the days when Peter the Great prohibited the wearing of beards, and the Duma is not so much flouted as forgotten.

When one turns to the doings of the conquerors in the portions of Galicia which they have once occupied, the outlook for racial and religious toleration is no more reassuring. The Russian armies are at home in Galicia. They have dug permanent trenches, converted the Catholics to orthodoxy and carried out a pogrom. The whole of the administration has been confided to the two cousins Bobrinsky, of whom one was perhaps the most eminent politicians of the Black Hundred school. The consequences in a population which is mainly Catholic-Uniate and for the rest Jewish, are still hidden by an effective censorship, but the rumors and complaints which somehow reach the West are sufficiently disquieting. There is, in short, no reason to hope that a Russian victory will bring an increase of influence to Russian Liberalism. It will, on the contrary, strengthen the central authority, and emphasize the peculiarly national note of the reaction.

That British and French influence can mould the policy of the Eastern ally is a pathetic delusion. The Western Allies stand in need of Russian military support, and so long as Western civilization is directed against itself, they cannot risk Russian displeasure by any indiscreet curiosity about Finland or Poland, the Duma and the Jews. It is possible, when one takes up arms for little peoples, to impose the principle of nationality on a beaten enemy, but diplomacy has no mechanism for enforcing consistency on an ally.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

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England's View of Contraband

MAY I be allowed to answer, frankly from a British point of view, Mr. C. T. Revere's article entitled "Stretching Contraband," which appeared in THE NEW REPUBLIC of December twelfth? The gravamen of Mr. Revere's article is that England's contraband policy is extreme, that in fact a new procedure has been devised calculated to beat the devil around the stump and to supply a twentieth century substitute for the eighteenth century "practice of paper blockade," declared illegal by the Declaration of Paris in 1859. Undoubtedly the British policy is extreme; undoubtedly it bears hard upon American exporters and producers, but Great Britain has no intention of repeating her policy of the Napoleonic wars and of relying upon her sea power to do things for which force is the only justification. She is following certain well-defined rules the correctness of which precedent and law both forbid the United States to dispute. With due deference to Mr. Revere, these rules are fairly simple.

It is accepted that under the term contraband are included commodities needed by belligerents primarily for warfare, and Chief Justice Marshall has laid down that war creates two indefeasible rights—one, the right of the neutral to export contraband, the other, the right of the belligerent to seize contraband. It is further accepted by British and American law that contraband may be seized when being carried in neutral bottoms to neutral ports if it can be proved that the consignments are ultimately destined for the enemy country. Many such seizures were made during the Civil War, were upheld by the Supreme Court, and were acquiesced in by Great Britain in the case of cargoes consigned in British vessels to Mexican and West Indian ports but in reality destined for the Confederate armies. It is true that the Declaration of London repudiated in part this practice, which is known as the "doctrine of the continuous voyage," and that Germany and other continental countries have never recognized the doctrine; but it must be remembered that the London conference was dominated by continental powers whose chief policy was to penalize maritime nations like the United States and Great Britain. Lest this should seem a partisan statement, it may be added that it is made on the authority of an article subsequently published in a continental review by one of the ablest of the European delegates.

Not that it is necessary to confuse the issue by dragging in the Declaration of London. While, suggested at the beginning of the war that the Declaration, though Great Britain had not ratified it, should be followed by belligerents, it has since withdrawn its suggestion and announced that in such maritime disputes as may arise it will be governed by reference to its traditional policy, which is fundamentally the same as that of Great Britain.

This traditional policy Great Britain has not violated. Mr. Revere complains of two things; first, the comprehensiveness of the British contraband list, secondly, the highhandedness of Great Britain's invocation of the doctrine of the continuous voyage. From the British point of view there is no legal or moral justification for his complaints unless he denies the whole principle of contraband, i.e., the right of belligerents to starve their enemies of war materials at the expense of neutral trade. All that Great Britain is trying to do is to bring up to date her practice of this principle. If her contraband lists have been enlarged, it is because the necessities of modern warfare have been so broadened that many things that were non-contraband in the days of the last great war are now of vital military importance.

Copper receives great stress in Mr. Revere's argument. He considers its appearance upon the British contraband list as a somewhat doubtful innovation. He animadverts upon the British policy of detaining shipments of copper to neutral countries. It is not quite fair to say that copper has never before been declared contraband. It was repeatedly declared contraband in the days of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. In Holland's *Manual of Naval Prize Law,* published in 1888, it is included in the list of commodities susceptible of insertion in lists of absolute contraband. Holland's *Manual* follows the old practice of only so considering it when it was "copper fit for the sheathing of vessels," but the key to the British policy is to fit to modern conditions the procedure of other centuries; and if copper for the shells of ships used to be contraband, surely it is reasonable for Great Britain to treat as contraband copper suitable for the shells of cartridges, for field telephone and telegraph wires, etc. If so, it is obvious that in the case of Germany, with her manufacturing facilities, copper of all grades comes into that class. It would be difficult for the American Government not to admit this, as copper figured in the list of supplies which the United States deemed ought not to be let into China when, after the Boxer rising, the advisability was considered of preventing the

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precedents are not, however, of cardinal importance. What is really important are the figures that can be produced in support of Great Britain's contention that since the war began, imports of contraband to neutral countries in communication with her enemies have increased by leaps and bounds; and that this increase, taken in conjunction with the apparent fact that the German war office is requisitioning all available domestic supplies of copper, oil, rubber, etc., justifies the policy first of making copper, oil, rubber, etc., absolute contraband, and, second, of treating with suspicion shipments of contraband to those neutral countries. Had Mr. Revere had access to the returns of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in Washington, he would hardly have made the statement that "statistics do not seem to bear out" Great Britain's claim that increased shipments of copper to Italy looked "suspicious." During September and October, 1913, imports of copper to Italy were 6,825,095 pounds. For September and October, 1914, they were 25,167,315 pounds. There is, roughly speaking, the same increase in the corresponding export returns to other neutral countries with whose trade Great Britain interferes; Norway, for instance, imported no copper in September and October, 1913, as compared with 8,196,158 pounds in the same months of 1914. The increase in regard to oil, rubber, meat and various minor commodities is equally remarkable.

There is another justification for Great Britain's strictness which Mr. Revere ignores, namely, the necessity of preventing smuggling. In several cases the British authorities have found copper and rubber hidden among non-contraband shipments via neutral ports to Germany. They have been faced with the problem of false manifests and incomplete ship's papers. Such malpractices are due, no doubt, to the machinations of German agents in the United States; but it is inevitable that they should enhance the hardships of honest American exporters. The problem is, in fact, far too complicated to be dismissed with generalizations about British arbitrariness. It is, for instance, unfair to accuse Great Britain of having placed an embargo upon the exports to the United States of manganese, wool and other raw materials, in order to have a basis for bargaining over contraband. The embargo was proclaimed before the contraband dispute materialized. It was proclaimed to keep certain staple products useful in warfare and needed by Great Britain within the British family and away from Germany. If, as many Englishmen hope, it is lifted in favor of the United States, it will be lifted in return for American undertaking that the materials affected and their products be not exported to Germany.

taneously with the contraband dispute is, of course, possible and highly desirable. That the contraband dispute will be settled by a compromise is also probable, but it will be by a self-contained compromise. It will be by a compromise between Great Britain's right, which the United States Government recognizes, to declare commodities like copper contraband and to involve the doctrine of the continuous voyage, and the American claim, which Great Britain recognizes, that American trade with neutral countries be subjected to a minimum of inconvenience. The United States Government, as Mr. Revere points out, objects to the British procedure of detaining on suspicion and even seizing cargoes vaguely consigned "to order." It agrees with Mr. Revere that the destination of suspected cargoes lies not between Great Britain and the American exporter, but between Great Britain and the neutral consignee or his Government. Great Britain has acquiesced in this point of view to the extent of trying to make arrangements with neutral countries by which those countries shall prohibit exportation to Germany. A number of such arrangements have been made, but they are not yet watertight. For that reason, and on account of its fear of smuggling, Great Britain still seizes and takes to port vessels the majority of which can promptly secure their release and are unlikely to find much difficulty in getting compensation for delay.

Such is the gist of the controversy at the present writing. It concerns not Great Britain's right to adopt the policy she has adopted, but certain of the means whereby she is carrying out that policy. While prophecy is unsafe, it may be taken for granted that it will be closed, not by some arrangement which will allow Germany to get American copper or oil or rubber, but by some arrangement which will make the importation into Germany of these commodities so difficult that Great Britain will no longer have to suspect neutral trade with neutral ports near Germany or with Germany direct.

That this arrangement will hit neutral commerce goes without saying. Especially will it hit the United States, with its great export trade to Germany in what are now contraband commodities. But unless the principle of contraband is to be abandoned altogether, it is difficult to see how, in view of the changed conditions of warfare, the United States can avoid being to that extent the innocent victim of the madness of Europe; and certainly it seems a little unfair to call Great Britain arbitrary simply because progress has rendered the enforcement of principles accepted and to no small extent crystallized by the United States, more inconvenient to the United States as a neutral than was the enforcement of the same principles to Great Britain during the Civil War.

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Modern Trench Fighting

THERE is an illusion, held with uncommon tenacity by the general public, that the range and effectiveness of modern arms tend to keep armies far apart. On the contrary, there is more hand-to-hand fighting to-day than at any time since gunpowder was invented. The reason is simple; no attacking force dares to show itself until it is "right on top of" the enemy. Therefore the opposing lines move and fight, so far as possible, at night, and when in contact with each other they approach by digging series of crisscross trenches known as parallels. The average distance between two permanently occupied positions—such as the present line of battle from Switzerland to the English Channel—is certainly no more than two hundred yards, and probably less than one hundred and fifty, while at certain points it is not at all unusual to find opposing trenches within twenty-five yards of each other. I have myself been in such a position, where I could hear the enemy moving and talking, and where the earth wall of his trench, seen through a peep-hole, seemed close enough to touch with a long pole. Positions as close as this are most of the time occupied only by small detachments, frequently relieved. Sentinels keep watch through peep-holes, their coats thrown over their heads, for the peep-hole must be kept constantly dark, as otherwise the enemy's sharpshooters will locate it and kill the sentinels. Once I saw a Japanese sergeant at Port Arthur thus killed, the bullet passing through his glasses and through his head. When I myself looked through the peep-holes, the Japanese always invited me to take a rifle and shoot. Of course to raise one's head above the trench wall is practically certain death.

Except when an attack upon the enemy is planned or expected, the soldiers live in the second, third and fourth lines of trenches. Here they live in comfort, far more of comfort than when they are on the march, for these trenches are roofed and furnished, and are in no danger whatever except from the larger howitzer shells. On the other hand, an attack upon the enemy, even at night, is attended by a fearful percentage of casualties.

I have several times seen these attacks take place by day, once from a position as close as two hundred yards to the actual fighting; for it is possible, in a permanent supporting trench, to be quite safe. The signal for the engagement is always a concerted artillery fire upon the position to be taken, and also upon all positions which can by rifle fire in *enfilade* oppose the advance. At a moment previously determined the attacking party rushes out, and the artillery ceases so as not to kill men of its force. The attackers run as fast as they can, unevenly, because some naturally run faster than others, but close together. It is exactly like the charge of a football team after the kick-off, except that there would be one hundred men in the space which in a football game holds eleven. Upon reaching the crest of the enemy's trench the attackers usually throw hand grenades—bombs with fuses—and after that the fighting is all hand-to-hand. The Japanese at Port Arthur used the bayonet, but I always noticed that the Russians, taking advantage of their greater reach, swung their rifles like clubs. Usually the Russians won, and in that case not more than five out of one hundred Japanese got back to their trenches in safety. Those in the Russian trenches the Russians killed or captured, and those lying between the trenches the Russians picked off, at their leisure, with rifles. Once I saw a successful charge when the Russians, about fifty of them, were driven out. They were carrying heavy blanket rolls, and had to run up hill, which they could not do. Finally they sat down and waited to be killed, every single one. Only one man, an officer, escaped; he was lame, and while the green side of the hill spurted with dirt from bullets as a pond does in the rain, he walked unscathed.

Many weapons long since thought obsolete have come into use again. First among these are grenades, of which there are all kinds, from manufactured bombs with fuses to soda-water bottles or tin cans filled with old iron—a variety which is practically as effective. Some of them are carried in the hand, some on long poles. There are also the canister, which is nothing but a shell filled with very small shot, and the trench-mortar, meant to throw a shell a short distance straight up into the air and down into the enemy's trench. For this last purpose I have seen wooden guns used, but I was never able to find out whether they worked on the principle of a sling, a spring, or an airgun.

Advances are made also by tunnels and mines, but the main difficulty of the whole procedure is to hold a position once gained, or, as the French reports have it, to "consolidate" one's position; for a trench cannot be held unless it has points of support. In other words, it must be connected with the other trenches, and supported by *enfilade* in at least two directions.

All this is slow work; at this rate the French will not drive out the Germans in months, but on the other hand a frontal attack—and every attack must now be frontal—even if successful would cost several hundred thousand men. Undoubtedly new weapons will be forged for this kind of work, and I am personally of the opinion that an improved type of trench-mortar would turn the scale in the attackers' favor.

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Usurpation by the Senate

THE sudden revival of "the courtesy of the Senate," now that the elections are over and the need of conciliating popular sentiment is no longer pressing, illustrates an important principle, comprehension of which is essential to democratic progress. It is this: the character of government is determined by the conditions under which the government is carried on.

In busying themselves merely with the conditions under which politicians get into office, the American people approach the problem of democratic government in the wrong way. The way to get good men into office is by arranging matters so that whoever is elected will have to be good. In Switzerland, Australia and New Zealand there are no party primaries, no nominating conventions, no legal regulation of party procedure. In substance, the state says to the politicians: "We do not care how you are elected or what party elects you; we attend to your case after you get into office." The conditions of political activity are such that Senators and Representatives cannot traffic in offices and appropriations, job navy yards and army posts, plug legislation or participate in administration. They are fixed so that they can act only as examiners and critics, thus forming a control over the government in behalf of the people. Switzerland has a federal senate composed like our own of two members from each state. Public opinion is indifferent as to the mode of election, which each state decides for itself, choice by the legislature being the usual procedure. But none of the troubles we have with our Senate are experienced in Switzerland.

Do what we may with the Senate, it can never be made a representative body. States with the population of a city ward have equal power with states of many millions' population, and under the Constitution no state can be divested of its equal suffrage in the Senate without its own consent. But the notion was embraced that it would be a democratic gain if Senators were chosen by popular election, and after many years of effort this reform was accomplished by the tedious and difficult process of constitutional amendment. Moreover, in most states the nomination of Senators is made by vote of the party membership. The theory is that all this would bring Senators into closer touch with the people and make their behavior more responsive to public opinion. Yet it appears that such a notoriously corrupt practice as "the courtesy of the Senate" is more rampant now than before.

The usual recourse in such emergencies is to raise a hue and cry against particular offenders. It will be difficult to do so now, as the Senate appears to be practically unanimous in upholding the claim of members to dictate appointments in their respective states. The true point at which to strike is the system that has grown up in the Senate, in part through constitutional defect, in part through sheer usurpation. In the interest of democratic progress it is not enough to expose and denounce such a perversion of constitutional authority as "the courtesy of the Senate"; the principle that should animate popular agitation is that any participation whatever by the Senate in appointments to office is evil.

The practice of requiring senatorial confirmation of executive action is now peculiar to American constitutions, but it was originally a principle of government urged by the Tory party in England with respect to the privy council. It did not find its way into the Constitution of the United States until a late stage of the convention proceedings; and was finally inserted as part of the compromises by which the small states were conciliated by giving them equal representation in the Senate and by associating the Senate with the President as a sort of privy council. At the time the Constitution was adopted the people were assured that the "advice and consent" clause did not confer any power of choice on the Senators, but was simply a check upon possible executive abuse of power. The early commentators, Kent and Story, both expound the clause in this way. But the practical effect has been to disorder and corrupt our whole system of government by destroying the constitutional function of Congress as an organ of control. Representative bodies perform the function only when they have no say as to who shall fill the offices. Then they take care that there shall be no offices to fill except such as are necessary to the prudent and efficient management of the public business. It is just the other way in American representative bodies, with dire consequences in every field of governmental activity.

The cure of the Senate must come, not through electing good men to office or by begging its members to behave themselves, but by striking directly at its power as a body. Its constitutional position is not nearly so well intrenched as was that of the British House of Lords, which has been stripped of any control whatever over appropriations or appointments and is now strictly confined to advisory functions. If the formal language of the Constitution seems to give the Senate discretionary au-

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thority over appointments, exactly that was true in actual intention with respect to the discretionary authority of the electoral college; but this has become extinct because the people would not tolerate it. By raising the issue of Senatorial usurpation with like vigor and pressing it with like constancy, as complete a victory may be gained by the people.

HENRY JONES FORD.

If Italy Should Enlist

IN the early days of the great war the possibility of the appearance of Italy on the side of the enemies of Germany divided the attention of the world with the battle news. In France, in England, in Russia, there was plain hope, patent urging. In Italy there was popular agitation, unmistakable anti-Austrian sympathy.

That the interest of Italy herself called for the defeat of the Austro-German alliance was unmistakable the day that she decided to follow the pathway of Venice, not of Rome, declined to take the German bribe of Tunis, Algeria, Corsica and Nice, definitely turned her face toward the east, toward Albania, the Aegean, and the unredeemed lands of the Trentino, Trieste, and Dalmatia. Such a dream was predicated upon the defeat, the partial dismemberment of Austria, and the final closing of the road from Vienna and Budapest to Salonica.

Yet very soon it became clear that Italy had no intention of acting hastily. Her army, it soon developed, was wholly unprepared for war; her finances, after the Tripolitan adventure, were still disorganized; finally, while Austrian defeat was desirable, Italy could not look with complete equanimity upon the possibility that a Greater Servia, bound to include Bosnia and Herzegovina, not improbably destined to bring the Serbo-Croats of Croatia and Slavonia under King Peter's crown, should lay claim to Dalmatia, now Slavicized, to the Slav-peopled hinterland of Trieste. Nor could she fail to find cause for dissatisfaction in the advance of the Greeks along the Adriatic, and their growing insistence, backed by French and British approval, that Italy should retire from the Dodecanese, from Rhodes, the Malta of the Near East.

In the months that followed, then, it was plain that Italy was following her own fortunes, reorganizing her army, seeking to restore the equilibrium in the Balkans, to call into life again the Balkan League, in which her friend, Roumania, having made peace with Bulgaria, should serve as a counterpoise and restraining influence upon both Servia and Greece, rival claimants with Italy to the Hapsburg and Ottoman estates. At no time, as Berlin soon realized, was it conceivable that Italy would join her old partners of the shattered with a public at last conscious of the passing of that Italy would come into the war, save at her own time and on her own terms.

To-day, however, there is an unmistakable recrudescence of the belief that, spring come, Italy will at last enlist. The headquarters of this belief is London. Equally it is plain that Italy has already made most of her bargains. With Russia and Servia she is reported to have agreed upon the extent of the Slav window on the Adriatic. With Greece, she has settled the limits of Epirus, and King Constantine's troops are back at Santa Quaranta and Argyrocastro, while Italy's are at Valona. The Balkan League seems on the point of being renewed. The Turkish attack on Egypt has brought new pressure upon Italy, like France and Great Britain, a Mohammedan power, to cast her fortunes with the Mediterranean powers.

Again, as Austrian fortunes continue to decline, as the possibility of a collapse grows, it is clear that Italy, still neutral, will have small claim upon the favor of a victorious alliance, successful without her aid. She may see Trieste and Dalmatia slip from her grasp and, conceivably, fall to the Slavs, who henceforth are to be her neighbors and her rivals along the narrow Adriatic and the possessors of Cattaro, the finest of all naval bases in the whole Mediterranean waters. In this situation it is natural to inquire once more what will be the effect if Italy enlists.

First, the moral effect must be considered. If there is anything clear now in the sixth month of war, it is that Germany and her allies cannot win. To make a draw of the contest is patently their best hope. But the appearance of Italy, and of Roumania, who would not wait a day to follow her Latin sister to the front, would mean that at least a million new troops would be thrown against Austria, already shaken, apparently at the end of her resources.

All hope, then, such hope as remains, would automatically disappear. The German and the Austrian people would finally recognize that their defeat was inevitable. Thus the enlistment of Italy would promptly raise the question of peace, not necessarily successfully, but Berlin and Vienna would have to face the new situation, to deal

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to give Germany and Austria terms on which peace could be made. Austria might obtain terms for separate peace. In any event there would be the chance of peace, the first chance in recent months.

If the moral effect failed to prove decisive, what would be the immediate military effect? Italy and Roumania can put about a million well trained and equipped troops in the field. They would necessarily be sent against Austria, the Italians toward Trieste and Vienna, the Roumanians into Transylvania and Hungary. Faced with this peril, the Austrians would have to surrender Galicia finally, to recall their troops from Poland, leave Cracow to the Germans to defend, since it is the key to German rather than Austrian territories, leave one army to defend the Carpathian front, send another to Transylvania, a third to the Tyrol; finally it would be necessary to send more troops against the Servian army, which would acquire new importance as a part of the forces attacking Austria on the south, and which might be strengthened by Greek troops.

Germany would then have to bear the whole brunt of the Russian advance. It is inconceivable that she could recall sufficient forces from the west, or find them in her new formations, to keep the offensive, to maintain or repeat her invasion of Poland. On the contrary, she would probably have to abandon East Prussia, that fraction of West Prussia east of the Vistula, and make her stand on the line from Dantzig to Cracow, behind the Vistula and the Warta, based on the series of fortresses she holds there. But the surrender of the Prussias would offset any advantage gained in the west, deprive her of some of her most needed food-producing lands, while her great Silesian industrial fields would be menaced. A slow recoil to the Rhine, a surrender of lands now held in the west, a permanently defensive attitude there would seem inevitable. A defensive battle without hope waged on all fronts; this would be the logical concomitant of Italian intervention.

Finally there is the political aspect to be considered. As it stands now, Russia victorious will take Galicia and Bukovina, and assign Bosnia, Herzegovina, the southern end of Dalmatia, to Servia and Montenegro. Shorn of these provinces, Austria could still live; they are all outlying accretions, having 11,000,000 of the 51,000,000 people who live in the Dual Kingdom. But if Italy and Roumania joined, Hungary would lose Transylvania and Fiume, Austria Trieste and Dalmatia, her whole Adriatic seaboard, and would become a state without seaboard. Prolongation of the war would probably bring the Czechs and the Croats into rebellion, incite them to seek a separate existence. In a word, the whole Hapsburg

For Austria this would mean the end. But for Germany it might prove an advantage. Nothing would be more likely than that the Germans of Austria might, as the Austrian empire flew apart, turn back to Germany, bring at least 10,000,000 German people to the German empire, repay the Kaiser for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, for possible amputations in Posen and the Prussias, and leave Germany stronger than at the start of the war, in population and in area.

In sum, then, if Italy enlisted, there would be an instant moral effect which might bring peace. If this failed, Germany would be forced to surrender her offensive on both fronts and probably to evacuate not alone Poland and Belgium, but East Prussia and her Trans-Rhenane territories. Prolongation of the war would probably destroy the Austrian empire, but Germany might endure all and continue to the end, confident that the dissolution of Austria must be the first step in a still more complete unification of the Germans of Europe.

For Italy this last consideration might well make for continued neutrality, for if Austria vanished, she would have to face a greater Germany determined to retake Trieste and obtain a window on the Adriatic, and at the same time a Southern Slav nation, eager to win back Dalmatia, ready to challenge Italy's title to Albania.

FRANK H. SIMONDS.

The Barbarians

YESTERDAY I went into a bookshop in one of those streets which, though only a mile or so from the heart of London, have kept themselves inviolate from London. It has such dignified enjoyment of its own spaciousness that it might be the high street of a county town, or at least a part of London in the eighties. The shops are small and restrained, the pavements give hospitality to violet-sellers and their dispersed wares, the ladies walk, slow and unruffled and lovely like the ladies in Whistler's pictures, the white stucco houses shine clean and their linden trees are dustless. Yet the first thing I saw in the bookshop of this delicate-spirited suburb was a pile of thick red books which I knew to be, at the first sight of their binding, Mrs. Constance Garnett's translations of Dostoevsky's novels. And as I turned over the pages of "The Brothers Karamazov" and looked on that wonderful story that works like a yeast, that struggles like a live thing to be born, it struck me that it is really art which governs the world. It was plainly due to the book in my hand that the Germans are floundering in the

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interests of the Pan-Germanic ideal. That England, with her habit of judging other nations by their political institutions, should be the ally of Russia is almost a miracle. It is only to be explained by the fact that wherever people who write and think gather together, Russian literature is loved and praised.

Indeed, Russia is to the young intellectuals of to-day what Italy was to the Victorians; as their imaginations, directed by Turner and the Brownings, dreamed of the crumbling richnesses of Rome and Venice, so we to-day think of that plain of brown earth patterned with delicate spring grass and steel-grey patches of half-melted snow and cupped in a round unbroken sky-line, which is Russia. We are deeply and affectionately familiar with Russian life. We have admired the blue cassock and the long hair of the little priest and followed him into the painted wooden church with its green dome and red pillars; we have drowsed for hours in the incense of some rich and complicated ritual. In the placid company of land-owners who hear without distress that their oats are mildewed and their crops have failed, we have walked in fens where the willows rose from the mist like islands, and have shot snipe as they soared against the rosy dawn. We have travelled far along those roads which stretch to infinity and have heard from the workers in the fields those interminable folk-songs in which the melancholy of Russia finds a roomy habitation. We have seen working-men in the train as they chewed sunflower seeds and discussed without end problems of conduct and religion; we have seen the bored and sleepy bureaucratic classes in their offices; we have seen the aristocrats chattering French but flaming into purely Russian excitement at the sound of gipsy music or the Easter bells. We have arrived at intimacy with a people extraordinarily like the English, in their untidiness and their inflexible conviction that there are other things in the world besides efficiency, but sweeter in their hearts, beautifully devoid of the sense of property and beautifully troubled by consciences that are sharp-edged like a child's. And from this literary friendship there has sprung the immensely important comradeship of the nations which to-day keeps civilisation together.

But perhaps, I reflected, I am exaggerating the power of art. We were familiar with Russian literature long before this time of amity, and we read Turgeniev and Tolstoy when we still hated Russia. Yet we may explain this by a doubt whether either of these men gave us the soul of Russia. Both were aristocrats in a country where, ever since the days of German Catherine, aristocracy has been inclined to repudiate its nationality and pretend that though it lives in Russia it is only went into Russian life with the loving but condescending smile that is worn by grown-ups when they go into the nursery. And Tolstoy, though he cast off his aristocracy like a cloak, never made anything more of the people than a beloved hobby; the peasants in his books are unnaturally plump and firm and smiling, like the babies in patent food advertisements. It was the poor man, the starveling Dostoevsky, the shopman's son Tchekhov, the hawker Gorky, who were able to write the story of Russia.

For there are certain conditions necessary for the production of art which shall really express the soul of a country. National art is obviously an impossible growth in a country where there are aristocratic social institutions and strict class distinctions. In France, for instance, literature paints the nation in sections; authors of good family describe royalist duchesses and cardinals and such human *articles de vertu*, or write about peasants with the detachment of those who make studies in natural history, while bourgeois authors like Zola are driven to the most desperate extremities of reporting and photography because they know nothing of any class but their own. But in countries of democratic social institutions such as England, or as Russia, which is as free socially as she is bound politically, a man can attain to a complete vision of his nation. In Russia all men kiss one another on Easter Day because Christ has risen, and this religious sense of brotherhood lingers throughout the year. The doctor and the schoolmaster and the estate manager saunter up through the white northern twilight, gossiping with the peasants on the way, to have a game of cards after dinner at the great house. The peasant goes on pilgrimages to distant shrines, and all men are kind to him on the way. The material of Russia unfolds itself with exhaustless abundance before the artist; the eyes of his imagination are not strained in the attempt to pierce veils, his intellect is not teased by any social mystery. His art is rooted in Russia and it can draw on all the vitality of that vast brown plain.

The wonder of Russian literature is now as indisputable as the glory of Rome. And yet—as I turned over Dostoevsky's pages I seemed to be looking from this delicate suburb into an incredibly violent variation of existence. Life seemed to be lived on a plane of excitement which either flared into orgiastic fury or dipped to a black, sour melancholy. There was a reek of drunkenness through a fog of ignorance. And sometimes there was cruelty. Indeed, these were barbarians. One ought not to forget their political servitude, their lack of education, the state of their universities. Then it was that I heard the sharp cry in the

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street had gathered in front of a window where a white notice had been pasted to the glass, and a lad was coming out of a news agent with a poster—"Scarborough Bombarded!"

Scarborough. An open town, unfortified. There came back to me the sense of the day I had spent there a year or so ago engaging rooms for a number of political organisers. I remembered the mean stone streets of boarding-houses, the dusty ferns in the windows, the little dingy black figures that had opened their doors to me, and their pathetic gladness to have lodgers in the off-season. Most of them inspired one with a curious shame, a reluctance not to take their rooms, because they had been so obviously "done" out of all the best and easy things of life. It was winter now and the off-season, and the victims of the shells would for the most part be these lodging-house keepers. I seemed to hear their thready little voices wailing up to God with this new complaint, choiring together into a cry of dignity, achieving suddenly a majestic importance.

I remembered suddenly that two friends of mine were living in a house on the cliff at Scarborough. I dropped my Dostoevsky and ran across the road to the post-office. No, I could not telephone a trunk call to Scarborough. The wires were blocked. I might try a telegram, but it would probably be delayed. "Three of the post-office clerks were killed by a shell this morning," said the girl behind the counter. There was horror in her voice, but she added the very British comment, "so they'll be short-handed." Simple, pleasant young women they probably were, interested in their back hair, like herself; or sleek-headed boys like the telegraph clerks. One does not brood upon the death of heroes, but this murder of ordinary people is unendurable. I went back to the bookshop and met the assistant in the door. "An open town!" he was saying angrily. "An open town!"

I looked again at my Dostoevsky and read the words on its title-page: "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone: but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit"; and I remembered a significant thing. The great men of both Russia and Germany have been extraordinarily afflicted with ill health. Dostoevsky was an epileptic, Tchekhov was stricken with heart disease, Gorky is a consumptive, Treitschke was deaf and weakly, Nietzsche was an invalid, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain is miserable in physique. But in the one nation, suffering has turned to sweetness, to a rapturous embrace of life, to a determination to clean the world before death comes. In the other it leads to a snarling at the mildness of health, to a sick aggressiveness, a mad desire to spoil the world. There are other tests of barbarism besides the state of the universities.

REBECCA WEST.

London.

A COMMUNICATION

Tax-Dodging in Illinois

SIR: A grand jury now sitting in Chicago is investigating the ancient and dishonorable subject of tax-dodging. The provisions of the Illinois Revenue law are perhaps exceptionally archaic, but much material of universal interest is being produced by the investigation.

The theoretical State is represented by the militant state's attorney, apparently striving to spread the burdens of government in the manner provided by law. The ostensible State is represented by the indignant assessing officials who make their own law, pointing out the absurdities of the statute as their justification. The actual State is represented by a procession of substantial citizens who contribute to maintain political power on the theory of sharing the greatest possible benefit and the least possible burden of government.

For the ostensible State the members of the assessing bodies present an entertaining and instructive defense of their acts. They point out frankly a billion dollars' worth of personal property which in their discretion escapes taxation. But they estimate that it would cost eight or ten million dollars a year to put these values on the assessment records, whereas the annual appropriations for their labors

But before the humble but righteous citizen has time to arise and demand that these hidden treasures of aristocracy shall be uncovered, even at a cost of half the profits, the adroit public servant adds that if the letter of the law is enforced, "the washerwoman's tub and furniture, the household flour, sugar and kitchen supplies, the coal in the bin, the family dishes, dresses, hats, clothes, the sewing machine, pictures, Bible, school and Sunday school books, the mechanic's tools and the widow's award and the claim for damages accruing to her orphan children, all will be listed and taxed."

This is a peculiarly pathetic list. It includes with obvious design those articles of personal property of the strongest emotional appeal. An assistant state's attorney replies: "It isn't the washerwoman's tub that is escaping taxes now, but the millionaire's vaults full of stocks and bonds." The prosecutor may be just as emotional in his reference to "the millionaire's vaults," but the assessor calmly rejoins that it is quite impossible to ascertain what is stored in safety-deposit boxes if the owners persist in regarding perjury as an incidental necessity of protecting private property—which is, of course, guaranteed by the Constitution.

From these quotations the real defense of the indignant

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required, hidden wealth will continue to escape, but the small property-owner will pay heavily for the enjoyment of collecting a larger tax from himself.

Whenever tax-dodging is forced offensively upon public attention, there is a great clamor from influential citizens for a revision of the revenue laws. There is much justification for the present outcry in Illinois, where segments of the antiquated and complicated laws are found under fifteen different headings in the statutes, including such titles as Warrants, Roads and Bridges, Forestry, Aliens, Animals and Birds. These statutory provisions have been given surgical and dental treatment by the Supreme Court, recorded in over two hundred and sixty volumes of Illinois Reports. Instances are not lacking where increasing the confusion of thought has failed to improve the equitable distribution of the burdens of government.

According to the schedule which the law requires the taxpayer to file, items to be listed alike by city-dweller and farmer include: "Mules and asses, hogs, bagatelle tables, knitting-machines, melodeons, franchises, barges and agricultural tools." There is a form for a statement of "Credits and Authorized Deductions" which is still an unsolved mystery after research by generations of accountants and attorneys. The common practice of persons of large property has been to refuse to file schedules. There are two penalties for such refusal—first, a small fine which is obviously a deterrent only to the small property owner; second, the addition of a fifty per cent penalty to the assessors' guess at a fair valuation of the property not scheduled. It has never been regarded as good form to utilize either of these penalties, although they have been swung as stuffed clubs on occasions for the amusement of the populace.

The difficulties, absurdities and inequalities in the revenue law and its administration give ample ground for a plausible defense of tax-dodging. There are many sound arguments in favor of certain proposed legislation which will promote more scientific administration, particularly in legalizing various tax exemptions. It appeals to many as highly desirable to permit the patrons of our charities and supporters of good-government campaigns to protect their gifts from taxation without resort to perjury. A gentleman who gives away $200,000 a year in public benefactions deeply resents paying a tax on this amount. The resentment of the substantial citizen is so ingrained that only two varieties of legislation will meet with his approval—that which specifically exempts him, and that which permits his exemption by the courtesy of officials.

Therefore the source of the evils of tax-dodging is not found in slipshod legislation, but in this attitude of the dominant members of the community. No system of tax imposition and collection has ever been devised which cannot be corrupted by administration; and control of the taxing power is the first and continuing necessity of the actual State. Whatever the laws may be, taxation will be administered in the interest of those who actually control politics—at present the men who finance campaigns. The same circle is completed every year; the assessing official solicits campaign contributions, the substantial citizen finances the campaign which returns the official to power, the official approves a gentle tax assessment for the substantial citizen. There is no coincidence in the fact that one of the three members of the Board of Review of Cook county chairman of the Republican State Committee; and that another member, who held office thirteen years, was the financial manager of the extraordinarily expensive campaign that elected the notorious Busse mayor of Chicago in 1907, and was the Western financial manager of the campaign that elected Mr. Taft President of the United States.

There is nothing unusually scandalous in these facts, or in the additional fact that both these gentlemen became very wealthy during this period. Our politics have been largely the expression of the business ideal of government, and hence acquisitive power, instead of statecraft, has been the prevailing test of success. But it is largely a waste of energy to attempt taxation reform under these auspices. All the dominating forces in the community are opposed to equalization of the revenue burdens. That would be proved at once, were detailed consideration given to the questions of religious and charitable exemption, tangible and intangible values, personalty and realty, licenses, special assessment, and national, state and municipal interests. In brief, it may be stated that the great organized interests all conspire somewhat unconsciously to relieve themselves and to increase the load upon the disorganized consumers and small property owners. What might be termed the organizers of community activities continually press to receive their rewards without deduction, while the actual producer of wealth finds his individual profit reduced by the increasing cost of supporting the governing classes.

"Public" religious and educational enterprises, although under private control, demand complete exemption. Creators of intangible values in corporate enterprises capitalize these as a basis for taxation against the community, but oppose every effort to base taxation for the community on private profits from these intangible values. Large real-estate holders acquire wealth through "unearned increments" and deny the right of the community to appropriate these profits for public expenses. Organized politics constantly strives to support out of national and local revenues an increased army of office-holders, and has only a subordinate interest in the profit derived by the community.

Modern tax-dodging is the effort of the governing class to prevent the depletion of its exorbitant profits out of the business of government. The true remedy lies not in fighting the tax-dodger, but in limiting his profits. In the end the producer must pay all the expense of government. It would be silly business for a group of laborers to employ a boss at an extravagant salary and then tax him to reduce that salary. Yet that is the theory which produces the tax-dodgers of democracy.

The servants of autocracy, the workers, were the tax-dodgers of older times. To-day the servants of democracy, the organizers, are the tax-dodgers, because the people, consenting to an unfair distribution of wealth when it is produced, attempt to recoup their losses instead of trying to stop them. Until democracy establishes the principle that all organization of community business is public service, it will continue the unsuccessful effort by "revenue reform" to return to the public treasury the disproportionate private profits of its public servants—and they will continue to "dodge their taxes." When this principle is established—and the system for its enforcement is only incidentally important—we may have a real trial of demo-

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CORRESPONDENCE

Section Four and Suffrage

SIR: Your correspondent, Miss Funk, in replying to my letter on Woman Suffrage and Strategy, offers three objections to my statements in the case. In the first place, she denies that the National Association adopted a resolution "demanding" that Congress pass an act giving women the ballot in Federal elections, and declares that the Association merely instructed its Congressional Committee to "promote" such a bill. The difference between "demanding" and "promoting" is hardly worth a paragraph.

In the second place, Miss Funk denies by implication that the resolution of the Convention was based on the Fourteenth Amendment. In this part of her letter, however, she speaks of "a Federal elections bill" and states that it rests on "Section 4 of the Constitution." In my letter, I was not speaking of the said bill, but of the resolution of the Convention upon which the bill is founded. I said that the Convention acted on the "genial assumption" that such a bill could find constitutional justification in the Fourteenth Amendment. Miss Funk does not deny this but evades it. She cannot deny that the main argument laid before the members of the Convention for the resolution in question was founded on the Fourteenth Amendment. In fact, the promoters of the scheme had printed a leaflet in which an elaborate argument was made to the effect that Minor vs. Happersett had been overruled by later decisions and that Congress had the power under the Fourteenth Amendment to enact the bill enfranchising women for federal elections. Copies of that circular I now have in my possession.

I was aware, of course, of the existence of an argument based on what Miss Funk calls "Section 4," by which, I presume, she means Article I, Section 4 (there are three or four sections numbered "4"). This section is in the original Constitution and gives Congress a certain power over the times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives. Charity prevented my mentioning it. There was absolutely no reason for supposing that the men who framed and adopted the Civil War Amendments half a century ago intended to vest in Congress the power to compel the states to give women the vote. There was still less reason for supposing that the men who made and adopted the Constitution more than a century and a quarter ago intended to give Congress that power. Every scrap of evidence collected in Farrand's monumental *Records* shows that it was not the intention of the Constitutional Convention to give Congress any power over the suffrage as such. Every rule of reason known to law is against this construction of the Constitution, for the provisions of that instrument with regard to the suffrage are clear and explicit and limit absolutely any construction that might be placed on the *general* power of Congress to regulate the times, places, and manner of holding elections. The argument based on the Fourteenth Amendment was so ridiculous that I forebore mentioning the still more ridiculous "Section 4" argument which may now be stated thus: "Although the voters in 1868 were not prepared to give Congress the power to confer the suffrage on women, the voters in 1787-88 actually did this." Does this require any further elucidation?

Yet Miss Funk informs us that "many good constitutionalists" support this view. My reply to that is that she history of any standing at all in the United States who is on the side of the National Association in its campaign for a Federal elections bill conferring the ballot on women by act of Congress.

In the third place, Miss Funk says that the policy of the Congressional Union had a dangerous rebound in the last congressional elections. She asserts that the Union "contributed" to the defeat of suffrage in North Dakota and Nebraska. Obviously it is impossible to prove this. On the other hand, it is to be noted that the Rules Committee is at last ready to bring the suffrage question before the House of Representatives. That is the kind of a rebound that the National Association has been seeking in vain for a long time. There is more reason for attributing this victory to the "disastrous" policy of the Congressional Union than in laying the defeats in the Western states at its door.

As to my use of strong terms in my first letter, I will say that I employed them in calm deliberation as the only truly accurate characterizations of the National Association's conduct which I could discover.

New York City. CHARLES A. BEARD.

"Socialist Degeneration"

SIR: The anonymous article under the title above, in your issue of December twelfth, is a clumsy concoction which cannot aid the reputation of your periodical for intelligence, fairness and honesty. The use of such a title is in itself an instance of the studied unfairness with which the article is written. Would you, for instance, in a criticism of the current tendencies of the Christian church, use the heading, "An Organization of Hypocrites," merely because a number of vociferous and fretful free-thinkers had so termed that body? Hardly.

I do not recall ever having read an article so closely packed with inaccurate or misleading statements. From start to finish it contains not a single assertion which a fair-minded man acquainted with the facts can accept. The space you might allow for a reply would not, of course, permit of a consideration of all of these statements; but there are two or three of them that can possibly be treated within the prescribed limits.

Some nine industrial states are directly or indirectly mentioned as states wherein the Socialist vote is very small, or is declining, or wherein it furnishes a lessening proportion of the Socialist total. It happens that in each of these states except Massachusetts the Socialist proportion of the total state vote is greater—in most cases very considerably greater—in 1912 than it was in 1904. In Ohio, for instance, the percentage was 3.61 in the former year, 8.70 in the latter; in Pennsylvania 1.76 in the former, 6.85 in the latter. Among all of the states of the Union there are just three—Massachusetts, Vermont and Maine—in which this proportion has been lowered.

It happens, moreover, that though in some of these industrial states the Socialist vote is a smaller proportion of the national Socialist total, it is, in the remainder, a larger proportion. It is larger in Ohio; it is much larger in Pennsylvania; it is, for the two periods, virtually identical in Missouri and Rhode Island, while in New York the proportional decline is less than the loss suffered by the vote of all parties in the state as compared with the na-

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that this nation is developing to the West, Southwest and Northwest, and that the total vote of the Eastern states is relatively declining. In each of these nine industrial states—except, by the merest fraction, Rhode Island—there has been a proportional loss in the vote of all parties.

The statement is made that "the states which have the largest Socialist vote are the sparsely settled agricultural and mining states of the far West," and it is used to support the reiterated statement that the Socialist vote is largely rural, scattered and non-industrial. Even a slight acquaintance with the facts will disprove the latter assertion. Oklahoma is the one partial exception. There is no room here to discuss the causes of this fact. It is sufficient to say that this state, settled by the last rush of the disinherited, has always polled a relatively large Socialist vote; that in 1904 it had a proportion of nearly five per cent, and that its three-fold growth is no greater than that of a number of more industrial states. But in the other states mentioned the Socialist vote is mainly urban and industrial. In California one-fourth of this vote comes from Los Angeles county. In Arizona more than forty per cent of this vote comes from the mining camps of Gila and Cochise counties. In Montana this vote is largely the contribution of the mining town of Butte. Twenty-seven per cent of this vote in Oregon comes from in and around Portland. In Washington this vote is predominantly the contribution of Tacoma and Seattle. The situation is similar in Nevada, Idaho and Utah. In Florida, which is given as an instance of the growth of Socialism in the non-industrial South, one-seventh of this vote comes from in and around the industrial city of Tampa, while the remainder is largely from Northern settlers. The Socialist vote in Florida is pitiful enough in size; it is proportionately large only from the fact that the Republican voters, being hopeless, and the Democratic voters, being confident, do not, in the main, go to the polls.

One might go on at interminable length in showing the fallacies and mis-statements of the article mentioned. With one other instance, however, I am done. There is, throughout the article, a reiteration, direct or implied, of the "deproletarization" of the Socialist party. As a matter of fact, there is no evidence whatever of any such process. Indeed, by reason of the secession from its ranks of numbers of middle-class philosophers of the Anarchist, Syndicalist, Cubist and Impressionist schools, and the effectual blanketing of the influence of those who have remained within the fold, the proletarian element has a larger measure of control in party affairs than it has had in some years.

Los Angeles, Cal. W. J. GHENT.

Refugees and Mausoleums

SIR: "The famous Altman collection," as the placards on the motor-buss tell everyone, has been added to the Metropolitan Museum. A few weeks ago the sculptor, George Grey Barnard, opened his museum built about Gothic fragments, found during his rambles across France. The Altman collection frames a supreme moment of Rembrandt's vision, the "Old Woman Cutting Her Nails." Barnard's collection contains nothing the French government thought important enough to deny the right of export. Yet if a suffragette should hack the Altman Rembrandt to pieces to-morrow the damage to the future of American museums would be far less than if a vandal bat-

ference between his way of making a museum and the Metropolitan's way of continuing one is the difference between creative imagination and aimless receptivity.

The Metropolitan Museum continues to expand from year to year by incorporating intact the aesthetic furniture of a plutocracy, with an air of congratulating itself that it thereby avoids the necessity of squandering its endowments by competing for Rembrandts and Raphaels in the open market. In reality it pays a much more disastrous price. The cost of the Lorillard-Wolfe collection is several galleries filled with dealers' stock of the '80's, now so obsolete that it has no right to space in any museum except perhaps as an object-lesson of what art was once thought to be. The cost of showing Millet's "Sower" in the Vanderbilt collection, lent in 1902 and still on view, is twelve years of wall space accorded to such equally obsolete stuff as Detaille, Boldini, Domingo and Gallait. And if recent acquisitions have been without violent intrusions of second-rare taste, it is not because the Museum has asserted itself as a directing force, but because good taste has become unavoidable.

These days if a wealthy collector will confine himself to the span 3000 B.C.—1700 A.D. he cannot have bad taste. Neither dealers nor auction rooms can supply it. If he began early one morning at the art embassies at one end of Fifth Avenue, bought freely at each, by five o'clock the same evening he might have collected the material for a presentable art museum, including several first-rate paintings, the best sort of Oriental rugs, Greek fragments, Italian and Egyptian pottery, Japanese and Renaissance bronzes. The Altman collection is such a museum, the product of more intelligent and extended search, an opulent jumble of Persian rugs, Chinese porcelains, French terra cottas, English furniture, Renaissance bas-reliefs, Roman glass and old masters. It is the expression of the expert taste of the best art dealers and collectors here and abroad—to whom any lapses like those of the Metropolitan Museum would spell bankruptcy—guided by the taste of experts who advise both them and their clients. The experts are as reputable and as necessary as the most famous consulting physicians, and are highly paid for their efforts to rescue as many anonymous paintings as possible.

The majority of the Altman old masters are just such refugees who have survived the recent battles of critics and escaped with their authenticity. A Mantegna without a breath of the clear mountain morning air that distinguishes every fine Mantegna was declared genuine by Dr. Wilhelm Bode—Dr. Bode being the Berlin curator who pronounced a bust of Flora, by an unknown Englishman of 1850 or thereabouts, to be a genuine work of Leonardo da Vinci. Two Memlings (I am quoting the Museum's catalogue) "were contested at the time of the Bruges exhibition." Another "is worthier of Memling's reputation." Controversy has raged about the Dürer, as dull a Dürer as could be found. Of various versions, "ours is the most famous." The Botticelli has "excellent credentials." Bernhard Behrenson "accepts enthusiastically" as Giorgione's the head of a man. The qualities which made Velasquez one of the masters of realistic portrait painting are strangely muffled in his portrait of Philip II, but Dr. Mayer has pronounced two variants to be copies "of our painting." And a recently discovered document seals all doubts.

One might continue to cite the Museum's catalogue, which proves effectively that the Altman collection fills a necessary place in the complete compendium of American collecting which the Museum has grown to be. It reveals

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old masters become the ultimate ambition of American collectors of the first rank, with rare exceptions of masterpieces by old masters still in private hands, none but dubious or disputed examples remained to be had. The record will be essential in order to establish their collection with the works of more modern or more exotic masters, Cezanne and Picasso, Korin and Koyetzu, who will presently straggle into the Museum as part of the collections of merchant princes of to-morrow.

When you grow tired of comparing the biographies of American collectors compiled in rooms instead of in chapters, brave the stale air of the subway and visit Barnard's cloister on Fort Washington Heights. It consists also of refugees, but their abdication is ended and they are given sovereignty over their own world. Through mediaeval doors striped with immense ornamental hinges, you enter not a museum but a red-brick chapel, which you realize afterward is architecturally not a mediaeval chapel at all, but a skilfully spaced museum. Tombs of knights are in the floor, slender candelabras standing guard over them. Triptychs are on brick altars that adroitly conceal steam radiators. Stained glass actually glorifies the pallid light of a winter day outside. The gallery is borne by gothic pillars, and at one angle of the upper gallery is a carved wooden pulpit, where a pulpit ought to be.

"I've tried to show the young men here the spirit of gothic from its birth to its death," said Barnard. There are all phases, but after you have been told that the stone cross is one of the earliest dating from the twelfth century, that the fresco embedded in the wall is of the school of Giotto, that the wrought-iron ships sailing in floral wreaths that hang from the ceiling come from a church near Bordeaux, you promptly forget the fact, just as you forget the various dates of a cathedral's separate façades, for all these objects are organic parts of a significant and expressive whole. "Museums wouldn't touch these things," blurted Barnard between shouting orders to workmen. "They wouldn't look well in glass cases under a McKim, Meade and White ceiling. . . . One thing placed in its atmosphere is worth all the fine things in the world. . . . The museums are essentially and virtually morgues." You realize how living, in contrast, is this museum of heraldic tombs, fragments of mediaeval mausolems, and the paraphernalia of Christian burial.

Wrought-iron gates swing to let you pass into recesses suggestive of chapels, and then out into cloisters, the re-erected pink pillars of the monastery of Cuxas. "That's going to be enclosed," shouted Barnard, "so that people can read up the history of the thing." When all the pillars are in place and grass grown in the central rectangle, surely there will be no more appropriate place in which to "read up" architecture. And looking through the arches even at the Washington Heights "five, six and seven room apartments," one may remember that one of the functions of arches is to frame a city, and dream of a city architecturally worth a frame.

The Boston Museum several years ago took the first step in the struggle to humanize art museums when it arranged its Japanese collection in a few rooms that had all the decorative qualities of Japanese spacing and kept its superfluous masterpieces in well catalogued cellars. Barnard, gathering only what random French churches thought insignificant enough to sell, has given New York its first approximation of a temple of beauty which every museum will have to become. If his example is not promptly followed, it may be necessary to agitate for one state law forbidding the Metropolitan Museum to accept any collection unless it is housed in a building bearing the donor's name, and another freeing it from all previous contracts of the sort.

Possibly before then a collector's heirs will be content to brag that a third of their ancestor's collection was accepted by an art museum, and will frame the museum's letter of acceptance as proudly as they might an honorary degree or the medal of the Legion of Honor. The few collectors who still insist on creating monuments to themselves in the form of miscellanies of art objects will erect wings to their private mausoleums in which to expose them. Having failed to humanize art museums, they may succeed in humanizing the cemeteries.

New York City. LEE SIMONSON.

Professor Ross Demurs

SIR: In an article, "Pride of Race," in your issue of November twenty-eighth, I am accused of finding Americans superior in looks and physique to Europeans. In my book, "The Old World in the New," there is not a paragraph to justify any such imputation. I have asserted that in point of looks the present immigrants stand below the peoples they come from. I say: "One ought to see the horror on the face of a fine-looking Italian or Hungarian consul when one asks him innocently, 'Is the physiognomy of these immigrants typical of your people?'" Now, if the immigrants are uglier than their own people, they will be uglier than our people unless our people stand below theirs in good looks. Does such reasoning betray pride of race?

The moral contrast I have drawn is not between Americans and Europeans, but between the Northern races and the Mediterranean races. If the latter stand lower than the former in morality, they will stand below the Americans unless we have degenerated from the stocks we sprang from. Does this argument betray pride of race?

Madison, Wis. EDWARD A. ROSS.

A Defect in Workmen's Compensation

SIR: It is sometimes impossible to foresee the effects which legislation will have upon the social structure. Particularly is this true of legislation so hastily devised and enacted as was the Workmen's Compensation act in New York. For many years that form of social insurance has been in existence in Europe, and within the past three or four years practically all of the more important states in this country have placed some form of workmen's compensation insurance upon their statute books.

In New York the act became operative July 1, 1914, and it was only to be expected that the inherent defects would become apparent within the first six months. The Legislature will meet in Albany next month, and underwriters, social workers, labor officials and other interested parties have begun to take the necessary steps to have the act amended in some of its most important particulars.

There is one phase of the matter to which I would like to direct your attention, for it seems to defeat the very purpose for which workmen's compensation insurance was created.

One of the most logical arguments for the necessity for this form of protection is that the wear and tear on the human machine should be assessed as a part of the cost of production and the general public be relieved from the necessity of taking care of the workmen who are incapacitated as the result of their employment. We find, how-

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dents. Men who have had an arm or a leg or even a toe amputated find themselves unable to obtain employment of any kind, owing to that provision in the New York act which forbids an employee to agree to waive any of the benefits to which he may become entitled. Every sane employer, whether he is insured in the State Fund, a stock company, a mutual company, or is carrying his own insurance, is interested—selfishly if you will—in reducing the cost of accidents occurring in his plant. He dare not, therefore, engage a workman whose physical condition is such as to lead to a probable increase in the loss ratio.

Men suffering from cardiac troubles and from epileptiform attacks, as well as those who have had limbs or other members removed, will fall under this ban and will undoubtedly complicate the already serious unemployment problem. What is the remedy?

If the next Legislature amend the act so that defectives would be enabled to waive the compensation provisions after having secured a permit from the Workmen's Compensation Commission, the trouble would be largely removed. The objection which will be urged against such a provision is that the selfish employer will seek to engage only those employees who have secured the right to waive their benefits, but this defect could be met by a restrictive provision limiting to a percentage of the total employees the employment in any one shop of those who have waived their rights. An additional safeguard would be found in the fact that the granting of such permits is lodged in a State Commission which would therefore be in a position to prevent abuses.

It has been suggested that a compulsory state insurance plan—such as exists in some of the foreign jurisdictions—with no alternative method of securing insurance coverage, would render the employer indifferent to the physical condition of his employees and therefore the problem would disappear. In any form of state insurance the cost is apportioned among the different groups in accordance with the accident experience of that group. It must follow, therefore, that every employer becomes vitally interested in his own loss ratio, for it goes to make up the total cost to the group and any unfavorable experience will therefore react upon him.

Instead of giving the defective the right to waive all of the provisions of this act, it might be found feasible to provide that he shall receive no compensation for any accidental injury to which his previous physical condition has contributed.

The necessary details for working out this provision have not been formulated by me, and my object in calling attention to this matter at this time is to see if some way cannot be devised for taking care of what may prove to be a considerable percentage of our working population without requiring them to obtain relief from charitable organizations or the state.

New York City. S. Herbert Wolfe.

Hope for America

SIR: It may be fashionable to state that America has no art except as she has borrowed, stolen, or bought it—but it is very discouraging to be forced to believe that such a condition of affairs is absolutely true. There may be a modicum of truth in Mr. Kuttner's recent utterance that "when we are purged of our commercialism, when leisure has civilized us, drama will reflect our noble traits soon enough." Meanwhile there are some of us who are inclined to resent the implication that at present we are

America is doing something dramatically worth while even though the musical comedies still cater to "the tired business man" and every abandoned down-town church is being turned into a "moving-picture palace." Continental critics know the names of Clyde Fitch and William Vaughn Moody. William Archer discusses both of these men in his recent book on stagecraft; Louis Cazamanian, the brilliant University of Paris *Maître des Conférences,* has translated and had produced at the Theatre Antoine, Paris, Moody's "The Great Divide." Though we are not, perhaps, a nation where "greater leisure has raised the standard of appreciation among audiences," if I remember correctly these are not unfamiliar names to the American public.

We may not be doing much very great, but we are doing something. The Little Theatre of Chicago, The Drama League of America, the splendid and practical drama course of Professor Baker of Harvard, are but three of many agencies that bespeak some sort of hope in the present. There is material in the present age if one is only broad-minded enough to find it and big enough to render it in terms of actuality. And, incidentally, we are waking up nationally in all the arts. Chicago, and its group of new singers of new themes, *The Little Review, Poetry,* St. Louis with its young but efficient Art League and its splendid pageant of last spring, all indicate an impulse toward new productiveness and new appreciation.

Artistically we have not arrived, but I question the necessity of being so infernally pessimistic, of even sitting back in snug comfort to await "The Great American Dramatist." He may not come for some hundred years. Meanwhile we live and things happen.

St. Louis. C. J. Masseck.

Dramatizing Unrest

SIR: In your issue of December twelfth you criticize the Commission on Industrial Relations because it has neither confined itself to a scientific inquiry for new light on the industrial problem, nor to a campaign of propagating truths already known. Your criticism is based on a preliminary report to which the Commission itself attached rather slight importance as being merely a record of progress and a promise for the future.

As a matter of fact, the Commission has a fixed policy that contemplates both of the courses you suggest. A distinct line has been drawn between scientific research and public hearings, and these two lines have been prosecuted under different leadership, although with an effort to correlate and coordinate the two.

The Commission's hearings have been undertaken in an effort to do exactly what you suggest—that is, to dramatize the industrial struggle and to make people think and feel about it. Only a consummate artist like Galsworthy could accomplish this in a report to Congress. The Commission has used a more objective method. It has tried to accomplish it through the public hearings themselves. The Commission feels that it has succeeded to a very large extent. The desired effect has been achieved in many cases locally, but the hearings have been held in so many cities that a very large number have been reached. It would have been almost impossible for the Commission to have produced a document of any compelling power in making up a report that was intended to be merely tentative, and that consciously avoided the statement of conclusions.

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The Popular Hit

Watch Your Step, a syncopated musical show in three acts. Music and lyrics by Irving Berlin. Plot (if any) by H. B. Smith. Presented at the New Amsterdam Theatre, New York.

"THEY don't come much better than that." I agree with my unknown contributor. It is warm praise, but it gives the first fine, free reaction on the fun of "Watch Your Step."

After all, it is a pleasant thing to live in a small town. Out in the big, cold world you know nobody, and nobody knows you. But here in New York we all know the local gossip, share in the local jokes, are on to the local celebrities. It isn't as if you lived in the great lonely city where people are stiff and formal, where nobody ever "loosens up." I am thinking of centers like Rockland, Me., where the standard is sixteen to one, sixteen seductive silvern remarks on your part to one golden token of silence on the part of the exuberant native. In New York there may be certain provincial drawbacks, certain narrow interests and island ways, but at least when our local talent is let loose we all feel the coziness and neighborliness that comes in a one-horse town.

Take, for example, our accomplished townsfolk, Mr. and Mrs. Vernon Castle. Everybody in New York knows the Castles. In a great city people like that might be lost, but on Broadway they are in the midst of intimate and often communicative friends. And when Frank Tinney says: "Vern, you'll be in the hall of fame all right, but you'll be there with Tracy the Outlaw, Captain Kidd and all the other hold-ups," everybody sees the jape, because the prices he gets for his dancing lessons are the talk of the town. And when Mr. Castle says he likes singing, Frank Tinney remarks: "You say you like singing. Well, you married her." And the roof lifts. They give Mrs. Castle a piece in the show so that she may dance, but her singing is very Chinese. Could they refer to that in a big-sized, callous town?

Vernon Castle is a good deal of the show. Not everyone in the village knew he could chant, and it was a surprise when he sat down before two drums and proved his fingers were as rhythmic as his toes. In the play he is a fashionable Englishman, very creditable for home talent, but the chief thing was of course his dancing. There wasn't enough plot in the play to put in a teacup. He simply danced whenever he got rested. His legs are ten feet long and an inch thick, but he is as graceful as a gazelle. Every time Mrs. Castle entered she appeared in a new and more lovely costume, sometimes a figured and formal dress, sometimes little more than draperies of exquisite shades. Her performance was a delight, especially when she came careering in and just sailed lightly around the stage. She and he did a polka, the sort of thing people used to dance in the sarsaparilla age, before we discovered that dances could be made up like cocktails and gin fizzes. They gave many of these Bronx, Manhattan and Martini varieties as well, with fifty in the chorus to assist them; all to syncopated music, the music so fittingly named after a very disastrous disorder of the heart.

One reason everyone in New York is keen about the Castles is that they are the living exhibits of a get-rich-quick romance. Frank Tinney says in the play that Mr. Castle used to be a waiter. Now he takes his salary home every night on a push-cart. In a big city this would not interest anybody, but everyone likes to drink in the ap- whole world kin. But it would be his loss. He would not man is disgraced whose act does not run like a machine. One of the joys of "Watch Your Step" is the local ease and freedom. The trick dog of vaudeville becomes in "Watch Your Step" the "good dog" that calmly lies down when he is told to stand on his head. It is very irregular and wrong. It would never do where people were not at home. But so little sense has this audience of the serious obligations of trick dogs, that they laugh as if the performer were a friend.

Another thing characteristic of a genial small town is the fun you can have about grand opera. In a big city they take opera seriously. In Chicago people begin to get gloomy at the prospect of opera early in November, and the gloom rests over the entire North Side until the hilarious season of Lent. The first thing Chicagoans thought about when the war broke out was: "Thank God, we can cut out grand opera without letting the cat out of the bag." But in New York a pleasantly "jay" attitude toward opera is quite the thing. "Watch Your Step" has one scene revealing the Opera House. All the boxes are full of morose men reading the religious news, the only column left in their papers. The ladies' hair is all ablaze with private electric-lighted tiaras, Mr. Edison's latest cultural device—not so useful as his cement houses, but almost as beautiful. Several of the patronesses go home, complaining that the sleeping accommodations are medieval. The stage is first occupied by Caruso, the only opera singer known to small towns. Caruso is succeeded by Frank Tinney, the carriage caller, who immediately takes the real audience into his confidence about the expert comedian's favorite topic, nothing in particular.

When an innocent damsel asked her swain to repeat one of Tinney's jokes in the orchestra, the comedian came forward to remark: "Don't tell her. Make her listen herself." But he was too kind to give her name to the rest of Broadway. Tinney's color in the play was black. He changed his clothes from a carriage caller's to a Pullman porter's, and from the Pullman porter's to a coat room boy's, but like a good comedian, he never changed his face. Because of the plot he was not let come on till the second act, when the plot was removed. As the Pullman porter he made no effort to reach the plane of metropolitan wit. Of the proud father of twins who had just received a silver loving-cup from Colonel Roosevelt he solemnly inquired: "Do you get it outright, or do you have to win it three times?" It is only in small towns that people live in the memories of the White House of 1908.

"Watch Your Step" does not keep up a serious plot. The story it tells New York is the story New York likes to to hear, the story of its own times, its own foibles, its own favorites. It does not play up to, or down to, its public. Undisguisedly assured, it plays directly with its public, and, cleverly, vivaciously, successfully, plays on it. There is nothing fulsome about its flattery, nothing transparent about its device. It does not buttonhole New York too rudely or attempt too obvious an appeal. But with a great deal of adroitness and considerable real humor it rolls the ball—not too swiftly—until the audience is as excited as a kitten. And when it overtakes the ball—not too difficult—the audience literally purrs. It is an immensely successful entertainment.

It succeeds because it has a friendly common touch. A stranger from Mars might be puzzled at our motor jokes, our Erie jokes, our Pullman jokes, our hotel and coat-room and dancing-school and grand opera humor. He might miss these touches of urban familiarity that make our

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Land Credit

Rural Credits, by Myron T. Herrick and R. Ingalls. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1914. $2.00.

IT is not a decade since the American public began to manifest an interest in the problem of supplying agriculture with adequate loan funds. Little by little the idea became current that this is one of the fields in which we stand far behind European countries; pamphlets and reports setting forth European experience are beginning to abound. Indeed, the discussion has already reached the stage of the authoritative treatise; proof of this is the appearance of the book under review. For the work of compiling a treatise on this subject Mr. Herrick is eminently qualified. He understands the American financial situation perfectly, and long connection with mutual savings institutions has familiarized him with the difficulties that retard the development of thrift and cooperation among the masses. He was one of the first in this country to make a political issue of the agricultural credit question, and as Ambassador to France he had exceptional opportunity to pursue his investigations of European experience. One whose work is done under such abnormally favorable circumstances encounters, to be sure, grave danger of being crushed under his own weight of details. Mr. Herrick escapes this danger, though often by a miraculously narrow margin.

Reduced to arithmetic the problem of agricultural credit runs as follows: Why is it that in our best farming sections, loans on good security cost the borrower, in interest and commissions, six per cent (in other sections, seven or eight per cent) while the German farmer in almost any section can borrow at four and five-tenths per cent? Is it because agriculture is a more uncertain venture here, with our droughts and floods and fluctuating prices? It has never been established that the uncertainty of the seasons is greater here than in Germany, and our prices, depending on a world market, fluctuate less than German prices. Is it because general interest rates are higher here than in Germany, as indicated by the fact that we are a nation which imports capital while Germany exports capital? General interest rates are indeed higher, but only by an almost negligible fraction. But in land credit we have a difference averaging two per cent, at least. The conclusion is irresistible that our disadvantage arises mainly, if not wholly, from the lack of such institutions of organized credit as have grown into bewildering complexity on German soil.

It is remarkable how highly the investor values the quality of perfect negotiability. A good railroad bond yielding four per cent will sell at par; an equally secure bond of a small local company yielding six per cent will probably sell at a discount. A capitalist thus is willing to forego one-third of his income for the sake of obtaining a form of investment permitting easy recovery of funds. Now, farm mortgages in America are among the least mobile of investments. They may be sound as gold, but they cannot be sold beyond the circle of those who know the property on which they are based. To transform the mass of farm mortgages into uniform securities having a national market would naturally effect a great reduction in the interest burden upon agriculture. This is, in effect, what the land credit institutions of Europe have done. In the German *Landschaften,* or cooperative land credit associations, the individual member executes a mortgage in favor of the association, which gives him in exchange by the collective assets of the association and also by the landed property of all the individual members. These debentures sell as readily as government bonds, and hence they bear an extremely low rate of interest. The borrowing member must pay a rate of interest exceeding the debenture rate only by costs of administration, and these costs are but a small fraction of one per cent.

Since land credit debentures always find a ready market, there is no need of fixing a date for their retirement. In practice they are retirable at the will of the credit association. There is, then, no reason why loans should not run for as long a period as the borrower may desire. In our own country farm loans run for periods of three to five years, although there may not be the least possibility that the borrower can pay them off within so short a term. The borrower may, if he chooses, fix a term of thirty years in Finland; in Italy, of fifty-four; in Germany and Sweden, of fifty-six and a half years; in Hungary, of sixty-three years; in France, of seventy-five years. It is hard to conceive how a European farmer could avoid accumulating funds sufficient to extinguish his debt as it falls due. As a fact, foreclosure, so disgracefully common an event with us, is hardly known in the lands of well-organized rural credit.

The key to the land credit situation, according to Mr. Herrick, is the debenture. This, he declares, is the chief if not the only lesson to be gained from European experience. Nevertheless we may presume to extract from Mr. Herrick's instructive pages additional lessons, perhaps not less important than that of the indispensability of the debenture.

However sound financially the European land credit institutions may be, they do not owe their inception to financiers. However advantageous they may be to those who avail themselves of their services, the institutions did not originate in spontaneous cooperative activity. They are the product of self-conscious statecraft, and only late in their history have they manifested a disposition to free themselves from governmental intervention, privilege or subsidy. If land credit debentures have come to be regarded as investments exactly as good as government bonds, this is due in no small measure to the fact that through many decades the government was popularly understood to stand sponsor for them in case of need. This is one lesson from European experience that should be carefully counted.

Again, land credit institutions naturally reserve rights of action in case the land by which loans are secured is permitted to deteriorate or fall into inferior use. Thus a constant influence is exerted in the direction of good standards of agricultural practice. The principles of appraisal, on which the amounts loanable are determined, rest upon productive capacity, not upon speculative possibilities. And this acts as a check on the tendency, so often manifest in American communities, to fix so high a value upon land as practically to put a ban upon purchases and sales.

But most significant of all, the history of European land credit reveals clearly the possibility of employing it for the support of such social institutions as the forces politically dominant may decree. The original Prussian *Landschaften* were designed to give relief to the landed aristocracy, threatened with ruin by the losses incident upon the wars of Frederick the Great. This purpose they did in fact accomplish. The later *Landschaften* and the *Crédit Foncier* in France were designed to encourage the development of a rural middle class. What purpose would

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Foncier, subserve? Eminently that of separating rural interests, not into those of landlord and tenant, but into those of capitalists and enterpreneur. Neither *Landschaft* nor *Crédit Foncier* attacks the problems of the peasant proprietor. But in the late developments, exemplified by the Irish Land Laws, the credit of the state is used to dissolve absentee estates into peasant holdings. With the steady advance of social democracy in Europe, evidences of state aid to institutions furnishing land credit to the man of small means become increasingly frequent; at the same time, institutions furnishing credit to the wealthier classes grow disillusioned of the principle of state aid. Is there no lesson here for us? We do not want a peasantry, nor a rural middle class, nor a landed aristocracy. If we knew what we do want, we should know what kind of rural credit organization to strive for. ALVIN S. JOHNSON.

More Barry Pain

Stories Without Tears, by Barry Pain. New York: F. A. Stokes Co. $1.25 net.

WERE we to accept his publishers' enthusiastic cover-comment we might well believe that Mr. Barry Pain was a master of the short story rivalling Anatole France, Rudyard Kipling or O. Henry. In actual fact, so far as "Stories Without Tears" show, he writes pleasant little stories, mildly humorous and with as much point as is required by editors of the better class magazines. The best are certainly his studies of lower middle class English life, as in, for example, "The Hero and the Burglar," which rises nowhere above the level of the fifteen-cent magazine story. Occasionally, as in "A Model Man," he attempts characterization, not unsuccessfully. One can have no quarrel with Mr. Pain, who achieves perfectly what he attempts, the production of pleasantly light fiction. His publishers are ill-advised, however, to attempt to place him among the immortals. After all, the hen is as useful as the bird of Paradise and much more suited for home consumption.

Vizetelly's France

Republican France, 1870-1912, by Ernest Alfred Vizetelly. Boston: Small, Maynard and Co. $4.00 net.

ANY work dealing with the recent history of France is of especial interest just now, in that it may throw some light upon the truly amazing *volte-face* in the national temperament shown, to all outward seeming, since the outbreak of the present war. Now that events have so happily belied the fear, it is not too much to say that the majority of foreign Francophiles regarded the future of her arms with more of fear than of hope. We have heard so much during the last quarter century of the growth of corruption, public and private, within her borders; we have been the unhappy witnesses of so many unedifying "incidents," especially in affairs military; we have always before us the memory of the last great war and of the subsequent Communist outrages. Was it possible that at the call not this time of glory, but of necessity, the France we loved —because of her faults no less than in spite of them—could slough them off and go out to meet her enemy with all the strength of youth and purity and inspiration?

In the dark days of early August it looked as if our worst fears might be realized. Dark stories came from the fighting line of incapacity in high places, of scandalous unpreparedness where all should have been prepared, of hurried retreats when retreat should have been unthought easiness; the old, too familiar panic cry, *"Nous sommes trahis,"* seemed likely to be heard at any moment. Then, almost instantaneously, all was changed; the army found its second wind, threw back its shoulders and set to the work before it with a new and strange imperturbability that foresaw victory; the people at home set their teeth; Paris quieted down into a birthplace of heroes, wrapped the cloak of dignity around its fears, and then—but not before —the invading armies began to fall back. The real France, not the old or the new but the innermost France, had become uppermost. It is only by the study of such books as Mr. Vizetelly's that even those of us who know our France almost as well as we know our own country can appreciate why.

Mr. Vizetelly's several works on contemporary French history all suffer because he knows and has seen and especially remembers too much. He sometimes, that is to say, makes it difficult to see the wood for the trees. His mind is an amazing storehouse of details, some of which obscure the main issues. From his childhood—he was little more than a boy when he went through the amazing nightmare of the Commune—he has seen and known everything and everybody that matters in French modern life. He can tell us the names and describe the appearance and the manners of the habitués of any Paris drawing-room from *"l'Année terrible"* until to-day. Scarcely a minor politician, scarcely even a swindling financier but comes within the field of his microscopic memory. Accordingly, his latest work is valuable as a work of reference, almost as a social guide-book, to be read in conjunction with others of less special treatment rather than for the entertainment of the general. It throws light upon the renaissance of France rather by what it leaves unsaid than by what it says. As Mr. Bodley has shown us, the country's strength is not in her armies, her statesmen or her administrators, but in the "common" people, not the Paris commonalty but the peasantry of France, cool-headed, calm-hearted, bovine.

The world of which Mr. Vizetelly treats, the world of "Affaires Dreyfus" and Panama scandals, the world of the *coulisses* and the boulevards, of ambitious premiers and corrupt ministers, could have done nothing to save France when the hour of supremest need came. Something else was needed, something beyond the calculations of Kaiser Wilhelm and his General Stabmajor. And by the process of elimination Mr. Vizetelly shows us that something.

"Republican France" is a work of value and interest, with one limitation; you should know something of France before you read it.

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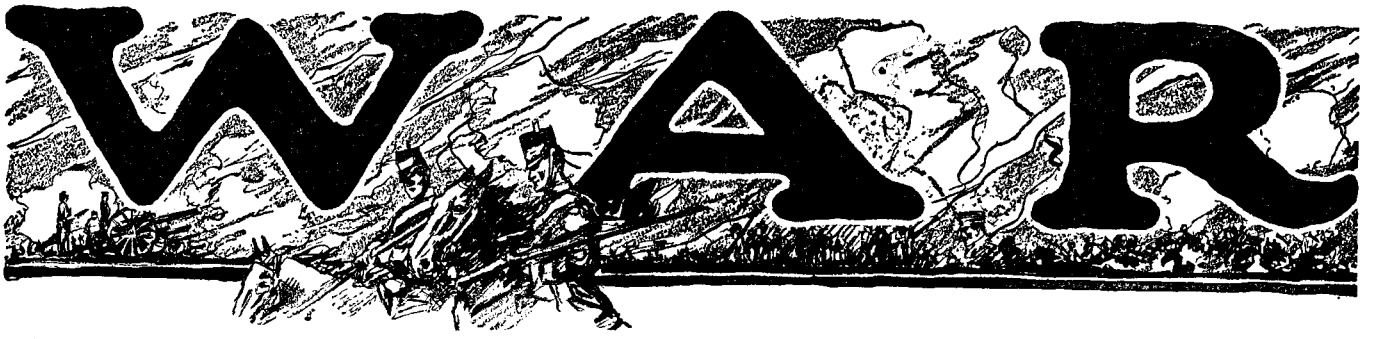

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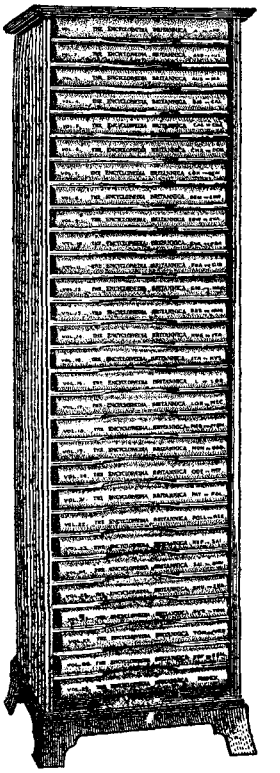

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